



**Start of [The Jewish Congregation
of Kirchen] :**

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LEO BAECK INSTITUTE

Center for Jewish History

15 West 16th Street
New York, NY 10011

Phone: (212) 744-6400

Fax: (212) 988-1305

Email: lbaeck@lbi.cjh.org

URL: <http://www.lbi.org>

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[The Jewish Congregation of Kirken]

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The Jewish Congregation of Kirchen

(Efringen-Kirchen, Kreis Loerrach)

1736 - 1940

200 Years Jewish History in the Markgraeflerland.

by: Axel Huettner

This is a translation of Rev. Huettner's book, and I as translator am responsible for any errors or omissions.

This is one of the best written and detailed books on the subject and the region, and I hope I've done it justice with my knowledge of english & german. A great many quotations in old language & grammatical form are used that are very hard to translate; I hope I've at least gotten the gist of it.

The 'Markgraeflerland' is a blessed region in south-western Germany along the Rhine to south & west and the Black Forest to the east, that corner of Germany known also as the 'Drei Laender Eck', the Three Countries' Corner, since Germany, France and Switzerland meet there.

My personal knowledge of Kirchen is sketchy since I myself grew up in Muellheim, about 15 miles north the 'Landstrasse, now the B-3 highway, a road travelled by Johann Peter Hebel, the well-know alemannic poet of the region. As a little boy I was at Kirchen only a few times, and there was actually little contact between Kirchen & Muellheim (to my meager knowledge) except as in the book. Jakob Alperowitz was my hebrew teacher & the Philipp Moses family lived in the house adjoining that of my grandfather, Gustav Zivi where I grew up until mid-1936 when my mother and I left for USA.

Manchester, VT. Fall 1993

This translation is purely for scholarly purposes.

Foreword

The Commune of Efringen-Kirchen thanks Axel Huettner, minister in Kandern-Wollbach, for his initiative, to keep alive the memory of the Life of our jewish fellow citizens up to their death & dispersion. In his book publ.1978 "The Jewish Community of Kirchen" he placed the various stations of our former fellow citizens. This book, published in 500 copies, was so well accepted that it was soon sold out. Another 500 copies were preinted that too were gone in a few years. So it was not surprising that a desire for a new edition existed.

The current work is only roughly comparable with the old; it was thoroly reworked, much more complete and more detailed, for which the jewish citizens who visited us 1883 & 1991 were very important.

The community is very appreciative of Axel Huettner, the author of this book. He assumed the tremendous load of many hours of work in addition to his occupation as pastor and produced this work at no cost. For their help in the documentation and research, assembling photos & sketches, the considerable writing and editing, the community thanks Walter Silbereisen, chief of the community administration Efringen-Kirchen, Wolfgang Weller, teacher at the local schools, Michael Oehlbach, house master at the schools, Birgit Sutter of the community administration, Tanja Glass from Lambrecht, Renate Huettner from Wollbach, the employees of the Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe, the Stadtarchiv Loerrach, as well as the former jewish fellow citizens who now live in the USA, particularly Sophie Kessler, and Alfred Rosenberg also Herbert Braeunlin, Haltingen, who with their knowledge & experience were very helpful. Also due thanks are the town council Efringen-Kirchen who in spite of difficulties made funds available and again demonstrated their high sense of responsibility for a cultural work and sensible project.

This book has an edition of 1,500 copies, and will probably find interest. It informs us about the fate of our jewish fellow citizens and may therefor help us to think consously think of our fellow man and greater tolerance in an increasingly difficult time.

Horst Dierkes
Buergermeister

Efringen-Kirchen, in January 1993.

The Early History - to 1716

The beginning of the history of the jews in Germany is hidden in apologetic semi-darkness. The legends and sagas, the existence of larger jewish communities in Germany already in pre-christian times, that they want to prove are clear to be viewed as religious, cultural or economic apologia of the jewish communities in their flight for existence against the christian world around them. Efforts to date the large congregations of Worms and Mainz, that in 1636 spoke of 1,700 years of existence, -Worms 1432 - 1,500 years existence - of their congregations in the same place can no doubt be proven historically. But certain, provably is the documented appearance of jews at Cologne before the year 321 AD and in Trier shortly after 305 AD. Aside of the two cities Cologne & Trier no documentation exists for dating the first jewish communities in other areas of the Rhine region.

Just as many cities and settlements in the Upper Rhine region date to the roman period without a specific founding, i.e. Strassburg, Basel & Breisach, so the founding of the jewish communities cannot be dated either. The development of these cities to sometimes great strength is very closely tied to the economic development, which the old settled jews strongly fostered. If as netrepreneur or merchant, judge, customs agent or physician, the jews mostly had a respectable place in public life. With their foreign trade with the orient and the slavic countries they performed greatly for the economic upturn of their cities, and helped to found a new order in the economy. The exchange of money took the place of the up to now customary exchange of goods, or bartering. In addition, a second occupation must be mentioned among the jews along the Upper Rhine: Agriculture. Of course the jews could not maintain themselves in the long run against the feudal system of the medieval economy and life-style, that was founded on a common christian belief. If one views the jewish economic history in certain development phases, one arrives after the already described phases 1 & 2, in which the jews were catalysts to a modern money economy and who generally lived in peace with the local population who had other religious beliefs, at phases 3 & 4, in which the christian learned these activities themselves, and finally took discriminatory steps against the jews who no longer provided certain necessary functions. Complicated decrees hammed in the jews' relative freedom and ability to move from place to place, others restored them. Roughly this is the result of civil & governmental sources, speak synods, councils, emperors and kings who dictated the decrees. With the Carolingian begins the time of the royal/imperial protection of jews. In the following period jewish groups or individuals were given special rights.

The earliest documented mention of jews in the area of the only 1806 finally constitutes Land Baden are partly in the early 13th century-Freiburg, Breisgau-1230, Constance - 1241, , partly in the first half of the 14th century, Lahr-1356, Breisach - 1301, Eendingen/Kaiserstuhl - 1331, Offenburg - 1343 and Neuenburg - 1354. In the cities then a part of the empire that are so important to a history fo the Upper Rhine, but that are today part of France or Switzerland, jews were first documented: Strassburg - 1188, Rheinfelden - 1290, Colmar - 1278, Basel 1242. it may safely be assumed that long before the today available documentation jewish communities existed in at least some of these cities. Generally documantation came about only at such a time as quarrels arose between christians & jews. Interestingly enough many of the dates given fall in a period of anti-jewish discriminatory measures taken.

P.14 - Massacres & Wanderings of Jews in Middle Ages

So shortly after the documentation of Jews in Freiburg & Konstanz they were forbidden to go to the market, and a century later in the 'clothing order' of duke Leopold of Austria, 1394, jews were ordered to wear coats 'of a colored cloth' and ' above the coats large striped hats. Shortly thereafter was added a yellow ring of 84mm diameter, worn on the upper left breast fastened to the outer clothing.

What happened to the jewish communities along the middle Rhein, in Speyer,Worms, Mainz & Cologne after the call of Godfrey of Buillon in 1096 - the almost total extinction by the armed might of the first crusade - that wanted to avenge the blood of christ - happened to the jewish communities along the upper Rhine much alter. First privileges, rules and laws were provlaimed here that more and more limited the jews sphere of activity. 1236 Friedrich II declared a 'privilege' that socially placed the jews in a new category, made them 'servants of the imperial chamber'. Even tho the no longer existing economic functions once carried on by the jews, who with the exception of holding official positions in the cities, had rights similar to those of christians, the religious fanaticism of the crusaders toward those of toher beliefs caused their status now to be reduced to that of 'imperial chamber servants'. So jews were no longer as earlier like other indivually privileged groups like women, merchants or clerics, or like city inhabitants of differing nationality. Now jews were officially classified as a special class of the population, for which with the classification 'servi camera' special rights were established. All people of the same king were included namely the jews. Of worthy. dignified factors of the economy and the law jews now required protection and disenfranchised objects of econimic policy. Robbed of their former rights, economically forced out of the 'guild occupations', politically with no influence whatever, jews were forced into an occupation, that, carefully expressed was no logner suitable for many people of the population.

For the interest business and money lending, with which came into existence the 'Schacherjude', the jewish usurer.

- P. 15 A jewish money lender at his countingtable. Since the 15th century jews were permitted only a few occupations: pawnbroking, money changing and peddling. Guilds no longer accepted jews as members (Woodcut 1531)

1215 Pope Innocent III, at the 4th lateran council, forbade all christians to lend money at interest. Up to now the monasteries primarily controlled this business even tho Augustinus, Gregor of Nyssa and Leo the Great descried the practice sharply. Into this now open position the jews were forced since their role now as outsiders the received the 'beneficium turpe', to charge in terest. The picture of a sponge that cann fill itself totally in order to be then squeezed dry totally gives the situation of the jews of the time.

The teaching of some church fathers about the necessity of the existance of the jews in the christian state, and the medieval piousness nurtured by mystical understanding of the world as well as deep superstition, nourished a new form of religiously framed hatred of jews: the accusation of ritual murder and the desecration of the host.

In this boiling climate of irritation a number of world-wide catastrophes broke after 1340. Terrible grasshopper swarms. High water caused by long-lasting rains, destroyed the harvests. Solar eclipses and great earthquakes, like that of Basel in 1356, announced for the population the nearing end of the world. Since 1348 the greatest pest epidemic of the period flourished depopulating entire cities. From Basel was reported:.....the dying was so great, that alone in the city 14,000 people died, and from Aeschen (gate) to the Rheintor only three whole (married) couples were to be met.....

- P.16 Jews stab a Host (woodcut 1492)

- P.16 The jews were also accused of the pest. One threaded them on wheels and tortured them with burning brands in order to force a confession from them. (Woodcut 1475)

Towards the end of 1348 news of the pest (known also as 'Black Death'-tr) and the well poisonings blamed on the jews at Bern reached Basel. Under pressure from guilds and tradesmen, who saw well poisonings as cause for the pest, the the city council, tho convinced of the innocence of the jews, gave in to their demands, and so on 9. or 16.(or 16. & 23) January 1349 600 jews were burnt in an especially built wooden building on a sandbank in the Rhine near the Birsig Delta. 130 children were baptized. All debts owed jews were declared null & void. The city council was forced to swear not to allow jews in the city for 200 years.

This all-encompassing , bloodiest, and in it's consequent persecution of the

jews in medieval Germany demanded it's sacrifices in the small cities of our region as well. So the jews of Waldshut, Saeckingen, Neuenburg (Muellheim) and Breisach were persecuted, murdered, and their property taken. January 30, 1349 the jews of Freiburg were burned, with the exception of the twelve richest, with whose help one wanted to ascertain the jews debts, and children and pregnant women, whose souls were to be saved by baptism. February 14, 1349 the 1,800 jews of Strassburg were burnt on a wooden structure in the cemetery. But first, the old city council who wanted to protect the jews - was forced to resign.

The persecutions of the jews spread from town to town. Hardly any of the large congregations between Cologne & Basel survived these terrible times. These terrible persecutions and methods one cannot blame on a latent anti-semitism (in author's opinion), as Schweinekoerper did, and certainly not the modern racial antisemitism that only in the 19th & 20th century bore it's terrible fruit. With exactly the same methods other social minorities were persecuted, i.e. the Albigensians in France, the Hussites in Bohemia.

The inviolability of the person, especially if unbeliever or heretic, meant nothing in medieval values. Just as little to such a group. Differences in speech, religion and customs, but also jealousy over economic success, were causes of this persecutions. Also the lesser mortality of the jews, caused by their more moderate lifestyle and better physicians, was used against them.....That meant for the victims (of the pest): they (the jews) did not succumb, and who is not a victim must be a murderer.....

In the following period the toleration or non-toleration of jews within the cities was handled very differently. Freiburg, for example, within 200 years expelled it's jews five times, every time 'forever'.

More and more jews settled in the countryside, exchanged their economically certain but otherwise dangerous situation for a much quieter but economically almost impossible life. Upon payments of higher or lesser sums of money they put themselves under the protection of the local ruler. So, Margrave Karl (1553-1577, previously regent of the upper margraviate) took under his protection on 20 August 1544 the jew Schmol, against payment of 80 gulden 48 ells velvet, for 12 years at Weil/Rhine. At the same time four other jews for 4, resp. 12, years taken in protection at Sulzburg.

On 18 November 1533 the squire Adelberg von Baerenfels took under his protection the jew David at Grenzach without the permission of the margrave.

Already 1542 jews were mentioned as living in Schliengen, that then was part of the bishopric Basel, as well as Steinstadt, Haltingen, later also at Mauchen & Istein.

Margrave Ernst I (1535-1553), the father of the above-named Karl, in 1556 allowed the jews in Sulzburg to build their own cemetery.

On 26 May 1570 the margrave permitted the jew Jakob from Aach with wife, his father and his servants, to settle at Mandern in the territory of Roetteln under his protection.

The development after Karl's death is turbulent. So, under his successor, Georg Friedrich (1604-1622, a more and more strict position was taken against the jews. The Landstaendige Ausschuesse (council of landholders, petty rulers-tr) of Sausenburg, Roetteln and Badenweiler, demanded 1582 at Schloss Roetteln ' hereafter no longer be burdened by jews'. In his political testament Georg Friedrich wrote 17 Nov. 1615: ...In order to keep our religion... we have sent away all the jews from our principality...and demand that all future margraves do not permit jews to live in our Fuerstenthum (principality-tr).

So the jews were expelled from the upper and in 1622 the lower margraviate. Foreign jews were permitted to pass thru upon the purchase of expensive 'Geleit Briefe' (passports-tr), however strictly forbidden to have any trade or other connection with the subjects.

In the period of the Thirty Years War a number of jews settled in the upper margraviate. After the 1648 peace they were again expelled, but upon payment of 'Geleitgeld' (passage money-tr) could travel thru the country. Not too many used this opportunity.

Under Friedrich VI (1659-1677) the situation of the jews improved markedly.. he no longer held to the prohibition of his grandfather. The last years of his regime and almost the entire reign of his successor Freidrich Magnus (1677-1709) were troubled times due to the french warmongering, under which the jews too fled the country. Friedrich Magnus in 1697 wanted to re-enforce this status in 1697 with a decree, shortly after the peace at Rijswijk 1697, that no jews be permitted to settle in the country and foreign jews not be permitted passage for trading.

Economic plight, poor saleability of cattle and farm products, the complaints of the peasants who no longer had cash money available, did not permit this sole princely decree to become law. The farmers of the country would have been forced to sell outside the country in bordering areas and would have had to assume higher risks.

Until 1709, the beginning of the reign of Karl Wilhelm (1709-1738) no jews were settled in the upper part of Baden.

Under the reign of Karl Wilhelm his liberal thinking particularly affected the laws relating to jews. On 4 May 1716 jews could settle in the following communes of the Oberland as 'Schutzjuden' (protected jews-tr): Emmendingen - 5 families,

in Muellheim - 4 families, in Sulzburg - 4 families and in Loerrach 4 families. All of these jews were from Switzerland. For these 4 towns 1716 is the actual founding date of their jewish communities. Altho jews have been mentioned long before, especially at Muellheim, in documents. The 225-year old uninterrupted history begins for them too this 4 May 1716.

They were all friends or relatives of the Judenschultheiss (jew mayor, official-tr) Joseph Guenzburger, who in the austrian Breisach sat as 'Oberherr' (a sort of soverign, ruler-tr) for the jews of the Markgraeflerland, and who was responsible for the prompt payment of the Schutzgeld (protection money-tr) to the margrave.

The Founding - 1736 - 1802

P.19 The Markgraeflerland and adjoining areas on a french map ca.1720. "After the jewry of Dorneck, where they have sat quietly for 80 years, are as per the received decree of 9 January, required to leave with wife and child, also with their goods from our land, have with hereby presented reasons against this respectfully to look upon the jewry with mercy for the 9 jewish households in Dornach to be expelled..... (The old german is very difficult-tr). With this citation begins the history of the jewish community of Kirchen. The jewish community of Dorneck-Dorf/Canton Solothurn,..who lived here since 80 years... had since 1830 difficulties with their ruler, the council of the Canton Solothurn, or more specifically the Landvogt (bailiff-tr) von Dornach-Thierstein. Even tho on 22 March 1730 Leible Bloch received permission from the Dornach council to buy a house, this permission was withdrawn already four weeks later, and the prohibition against the acquisition of real property extended to all jews. Under threat of a fine of 10 pounds the cantonal council decided also not to permit any more jews into Dornach.

"On 9 January 1736 the complaints against the jews were documented the the vogt thereupon ordered 'to expel them with bag & baggage'". This decision was ratified 10 February 1736 and Michaeli (Michaelmas-???-tr) set as the final date that same year.

The expelled families largely emigrated to nearby Alsace, primarily to the towns Hegenheim & Buschweiler, the other part crossed the Rhine into the Baden-Durlach Oberamt Roetteln (D.D. upper adm.office Roetteln-tr) to the towns Loerrach & Kirchen.

This immigration was evidenced in Loerrach until the end of the jewish community in 1940 by teh frequently occurring name Dornacher.

The 200 year history of the jewish community at Kirchen begins with the emigration of jewish families from Dornach, the history of not always

exemplary but generally peaceful coexistence with the jewish minority that at times made up 20% of the total population.

The first jew documented at Kirchen is Hirz (Herz) Bloch. A document dated 6 November 1747 & signed by Margrave Karl Friedrich of Baden (Judenschutzbrief-letter of protection-tr) is issued in the name of the jew Hirz Bloch. It states:that we take into our further protection the jew Hirz Bloch who has been so as of 31 March 1736, at Kirchen in our territory of Roetteln, and shall further continue in such protectionetc (rough translation-tr). So it follows that Hirz Bloch was settled at Kirchen before 31 March 1736. Not much can be said about his person (8.0). He died 1753 and had a son July Bloch (12.0).

As Schmidt elaborates, in the oldest extant population register of Kirchen, 1810, is stated that Hirz Bloch came from Dornach in Canton Solothurn. Further Schmidt refers to the 'Leutrum'sche Handschrift' (L.handwritten document-tr) of 1731 where a.o. is stated: ...In these territories luck wills that only a few jewish families live here - Loerrach - 3, Thumbringen - 2, & Kirchen - 4. Leutrum names these four families:.....here are four families, 4 brothers of the Bloch family". The name Bloch is among those expelled from Dornach. Also a certain tradition in naming (preference of given names Salomon & Leibl-Leopold) in Dornach as well as in Kirchen leads to the possible descent of the Kirchen Blochs from Dornach.

Schmidt's assertion raises some questions.....in view of all circumstances 1736 could be the first date of jewish settlement at Kirchen.....

The date of the first Schutzbrief, 31 March 1736, raises puzzles. The jewish families were only asked to leave Dornach 10 Febr.1736 and had time to do so well into summer. The not exactly judophile position of the Landvogt v. Leutrum, and the less than quich bureaucracy at karlsruhe appear to suggest that Hirz Bloch immigrated to Kirchen before 10 Febr.1736.

Soon the jews of the Oberamt Roetteln, both from Loerrach & Kirchen, participated in the homage paid to guardian Karl August set for 15 August 1738, that was at first planned on the Kalten Herberge (Cold Refuge-tr; an inn???) but because of limited room was transferred to Loerrach. All subjects over 14 years of age were required to attend. altogether 7,133 persons swore allegiance at Loerrach. Each subject then received a measure of wine & a half pound of bread. From later times the swearing of allegiance (Huldigung) of the jews of Loerrach & Kirchen is documented. This took place in a festive manner in the synagogue with the participation of the Rabbi.

This second to last wave of founding of jewish communities after their destructions in the middle ages is however not specific to the Baden Oberland.

In neighboring Alsace a number of alrger congregations were founded about the same time (Tr.note: Community is the general settlemen, congregation is used for the specific such entity, altho the two meanings overlap): Sierenz, Niederhagenthal, & Hueningen. Before this the large congregations of Hegenheim (founding of cemetary 1673) 7 Blotzheim prior to 1660. In Basel, the seat of the Fuerstbischoff (Prince Bishop-tr), a jewish burial place was founded 1572 at Zwingen.

P.21 Judenschutzbrief of Lazarus Braunschweig

In addition to the named places in Alsace and switzerland as well as the settlement in Loerrach, Tumringen & Kirchen, Fischingen (no names given) and later for a short time Maerkt must be listed as Judenschutzplatz (j.protecting towns-tr). The tiem when the jews came to Kirchen happened to fall into a decade in which the anti-jewish laws were once again made stricter. Reasons for this may be the large numbers of jews who settled in the upper and lower margraviate. So 1729 notice was given that who does not pay his Schutzgeld (protection money-tr) on the due date will immediately lose his protection and must leave the country. 1735 the maximum interest was set at 5% in 1735. For every jew coming from foreign countries to settle in the margraviate the following conditions must be met: He must prove ownership of at least 800 fl. and pay his Schutzgeld in advance, semiannually, in cities - 40 fl., in villages - 25 fl. On 13 Febr.1747 all Schutz-briefe were recalled. If a new one was to be issued application must be made within a month and a fee paid of 3 fl. as tax and another 3 fl.for the 'Stempel' (stamp-tr). Applications were frequently required to decalred that they will not apply for protection for any of their children living in the land.

In spite of this the jewish community at Kirchen grew:

1738	9 persons (3 men,1 widow, 5 hired men (Knechte)	
1749	29 persons	1750 30 persons
1751	30 "	1757 33 "
1785	8 jewish households were said to be counted.	

Public opinion vs. the jews was tense in the Oberland. In neighboring Loerrach the Schutzjude Nathan Braunschweig came into conflict with the Basel authorities in 1722. Landvogt v.Leutrum reports: A few years ago a Schutzjud Nathan Braunschweig called 'Satan Braunschweig' by the peasants, gave a poor example of the hoped for conversion of the jews (no religous, but civil-tr). He and another jew at Basel practice a godless prank. when he learned that a market woman carried a box with jewels and precious valued at 1,000 fl.with her for sale, these two jews apoke to her under the impression of wanting to buy them. The one stranger jew was a portugese who deals in such goods. However they had a tin box made of the same kind etc. as that of the woman,

and palying around with the two boxes and the contents of the one from her hand like cut-purses and gave her the false one containing only junk and other false goods, fled to France, but were sought after and caught, had lengthy court process & imprisonment which caused the local administration considerable difficulty.

The documents of the Oberamt report on this affair: Since Nathan B. was seen in the Krone (inn) in Klein-Hueningen with a strange jew he was suspected of teh deed. The Basel magistrate requested the extradition of the jew to the Oberamt Roetteln so he could be interrogated and confronted by other at Basel.

On 2. July 1722 Nathan B. requests the margrave to have him questioned at Loerrach since according to a guard at the Riehener Tor at Basel nothing good awaited him. Now follows a sometimes contradictory correspondence between the Oberamt, the the margrave's office and the Council at Basel. B. travelled to Karlsruhe in this matter himself but never was seen again. Wife and children also suddenly disappeared from Loerrach. For it's seeming lack of supervision the Oberamt on 15 October 1722 drew a reprimand from Karlsruhe. Basel, after the non-appearance of B. at the set date of 27 June 1722 decided that the entire jewry of Loerrach be responsible for the loss, and forbade the jews to enter Basel. But since in teh meantime a new market was opened at Hueningen the Basler saw themselves disadvantaged in their businesses and demanded the cancellation of the ban. Besides a lot of innocent jews were affected thereby. At the same time the victim, thru untiring detective work, managed to locate Nathan and the portugese at Strassburg, and to have them arrested December 1723. Their property was confiscated, and in their apartment was found the little box containing the jewels. Switzerland requested extradition from France. After lengthy diplomatic negotiations - the Braunschweigs meanwhile had become french subjects and within the jurisdiction of the court at Colmar - both were sent to Basel 6 May 1724. 'Nathan was taken to the Eselturm (donkey tower-tr) and Lazarus to the Baerenhaut (bear skin-tr).'

Both denied having done the 'Filoustreich' (villainous prank-tr), so they were tortured to secure a confession. Now the relatives of the two jews declared themselves prepared to pay for the damage that amounted to 3,000 fl. for the jewels and 3,600 fl. for the court.

On 19 July 1724 the judicial faculty of the small Basel council issued an opinion that is typical of the jurisprudence of the time and therefor given:

After reviewing the results of the inquisition and examination of the two jews accused of two villainous & thieving pranks, one at Jakob Werenfels and the other by the market woman Barbara Bleichin, and found guilty.

As to the extent of the punishment it is our opinion that the two thieves cannot be punished with their lives and for the following reasons:

1) According to Roman law the thieves can't be punished with execution, the thieves will in addition to the infamy (?) pay back the two-to four-fold value of the stolen goods. 2) Also according to mosaic law does not call for life, but the 2 -5 fold repayment of the stolen goods value, which demands that the christian judge be no harsher. 3) If criminal penalties are to be suited to the crime and there is no comparison between a theft and the blood of a human, since temporal goods are replaceable, but life cannot be restored.

In any case the matter is to be decided according to the new imperial laws of Friedrich I and the carolingian 'Halsgerichtsordnung' (? court practice-tr) and the general wordly practice based thereon.

According to this the two have forfeited their lives because: 1) the thefts exceed a value of 2 -3,000 fl. which calls for death even in the first instance. 2) Their portion fo the stolen goods is immatrical for the verdict. The crime is so much worse because it was a theft repeated at different times. The 'Hals-ordnung' (neck rule-tr) demands that by the rendition of the verdict the person and position of the thieve be considered, but the reputation of the inquisitors is not the best. But since the thieves did not use force or broke in at night one can ameliorate the strictness of the law as far as the general public good did not demand an example.

Normally both had earned rope & gallows, but since they agreed to repay for or return the stolen goods, which makes good for the damages of the victims, so they are not punished by execution but are sentenced to permanent expulsion from the country, with or without caning as punishment as seen fit.

Therefor on 5 August 1724 the council decided as follows: " The jews Lazarus and Nathan Braunschweiger are to led out of the city with raised canes and permanently banned from city and country.

This affair blew up much dust, naturally, and the memory remained with the populace for a long time. About 90 years later J.P.Hebel wrote it up among his calender tales, List gegen List (trick vs.trick-tr). There he says a.o.: A wellknown goldsmith had sold two well dressed persons valuable jewelry worth about 3,000 taler for teh coronation in Hungary. They then paid 1,000 taler cash, put all they had chosen in a little box and sealed it, and gave it to the goldsmith as security for the still unpaid sum, or at least that's what the goldsmith thought, that it was the same. "In 14 days" they said, "we'll bring the rest of teh money and then take the little box." All was put into writing. Three weeks passed, nobody showed up. The coronation day went by, another four weeks pass. Nobody wants the little box. Finally the goldsmith said: Why should I guard your property at my risk and have the capital tied up to boot?

So he wanted to open the box in the presence of an official and deposit the already paid 1,000 taler. But when it was opened, "dear, good goldsmith" said the actuary, "you've been taken by these two rogues". For instead of jewelry and gold the box contained pebbles and lead. The two merchants were rogues, bohemian jews, put the true box on the side quietly and gave back to the goldsmith the other that looked alike. "Goldsmith" said the actuary, "here good advise is expensive. You're an unlucky man."

In Kirchen the population fought with all available means against the immigration of more jews because with three of those seeking residence they had less than good experience.

We will often be able to view in future the immigration of alsation jews since their situation was not the best. The applications of alsation jews were often supported by french officers and officials with whom Landvogt von Wallbrunn had good relations ca.1760.

So in January 1760 Salomon Ullmann from Duermenach sought protected acceptance at Kirchen. He had been involved in a lawsuit about an inheritance and was accused of having bribed the witnesses to give false testimony at Colmar. He was afraid that he would be persecuted because of this and... 'possible taken by the head for this is what generally happens to jews in Alsace when they are persecuted.' He had a letter of commendation from Commandant d'Arimont of Gross-Hueningen and was - but only after a second application - accepted as Schutzjude at Kirchen on 23 May 1761. But he did not prove himself worthy of this kindness, for in a few years he returned to Duermenach with his wife, leaving behind many debts - he was in arrears with the Schutzgeld too. On 20 September 1765 the town council of Kirchen reported: Salomon Ullmann had promised all the best when he was taken into 'Schutz'. But since then he has behaved himself so that the whole community complains about him. Many had given him fruit, oil, wood, etc. on promises but never received a kreutzer therefor. Also he owes his rent even tho he had already ruined the house enough. Since 'Georgi' he's been away and so was his wife, and they left the children behind. The Kirchener were thus heavily burdened because the people were afraid that they could cause a terrible accident with fire.

Shortly thereafter, 1762, Isaak Haenlein (Haenle) from Opfingen sought a protected place in the Oberland. However the example of Salomon Ullmann suffices. In a report of the town office of 20 Sept. 1762 is declared: "The entire citizenry have cried terribly..... Originally only 2 Schutzjuden were in Kirchen, now there are 40. They're poor as beggars and cause great harm to the community. They'll talk the peasants out of wood, fruits and all else but not pay therefor.

One might spare the town more jews". Isak Haenly was not accepted.

1766 a third settlement application was made. It is therefor no wonder that the people of the Oberamt were suspicious of jews of the Ullmann family. This was felt by Nathan Ullmann of Duermenach, a cousin of Salomon, when he and his brother Meier wanted to settle in Kirchen. I 1762 during an argument with a christian he hit his opponent in the chest and knocked him ot the ground. Five days later the christian died.

In Hirsingen the Amtmann (local magistrate-tr) Hell, who was evilly disposed towards jews in general. He caused no little commotion in the entire Alsace when he passed out forged receipts to jew's debtors by bunches and therefor ruined hundreds of jewish families. This Amtmann had the corpse of the christian opponent autopsied, whereby the doctor was said to have found a blood clot that caused the man's death. Nathan Ullmann had to flee. He was sentenced to death, and in his place his picture was set up on the Duermenach gallows.

From Hagenthal he requested protection from the margravian administration to be taken into Schutztaufnahme' in Kirchen until the king of France would pardon him. And this appeal too was supported by Commandant d'Arimont, since Ullmann had worked for him often & well. But the Hofrat (court councillor-tr) denied the application of Ullmann since there was an extradition treaty concerning deserters & malefactors between Baden & France, and if one took him in troubles with France would arise. In addition all the jews of the Oberamt had protested against the acceptance of Nathan & Meier Ullmann since a warrant was outstanding against them, the were criminals & owned nothing.

Meanwhile Nathan & Meier were not sitting still in their temporary refuge. Together with Bertold Vogt & Nathan Aaron (probably from Buchsweiler) they visited the swiss fairs since 1767 and carried on a sizable trade in linen, cloth, silks, gold & silver trimmings, that brought them good earnings. Surprisingly the extradition treaty with France was no longer a problem when 1769 Nathan Ullman applied for Schutztaufnahme in Loerrach. He offered 50 fl.protection money and 10 new Louis d'Or for goods bought in Pforzheim. Nevertheless the following year he declared himself ready to travel to Pforzheim and buy as many goods as was suitable to him. The Oberamt 1769 supported his application, recited his circumstances, and particularly mentioned that he was married but ahd no children. He planned to open a store in Loerrach with his goods, but look to foreign parts for the major part of his business as he does now. No trader in the Oberamt carries the goods that the subjects up to now had to buy in Basel, so that the money went out of the country. The settlement can't hurt the country. "Because most all the local jews trade mostly with cattle, and less with sugar & coffee,

but Nathan Ullmann carries entirely different goods and therefor not damaging anyone; also we have no qualms with his Schutzaufnahme to respectfully apply for the granting of the application." Added to the petition were supporting letters from the firm Fuerstenberger & Sons and the merchants guild of Yverdon. Nor did the Rentkammer (finance office-tr) hav any objection to Ullmann's acceptance , if he only opened a shop with the concerned goods, but otherwise seek his earnings out of the country.

Therefor on 13 Nov.1769 Ullmann received the 'Schutz' at Loerrach, a7 75 fl. protection money plus 10 new Louis d'or for not not having to buy Pforzheim goods.

The economic position of the jews of Kirchen, judging by the above, was very poor. "Nothandel", this word that ghosts thru all lists, documents and orders, that somehow concern the occupational & finacial situation of the jews, is a highly succinct therefor (tr. is almost impossible in sensible manner-tr-see further). Ruerup defines it as follows: With "Nothandel" one can define a commerce that is carried out without adequate capital & proper business orginasation, i.e. lacking any other means of earning a meager livelihood.

Because of the constant expulsion from towns it was impossible for jews to invest earned capital, if it was even permitted by then current laws. A statistic of 1800 for the Oberamt Roetteln list the jews among the poorer of the margraviate. The per-head capital (Vermoegeen - total ownership-tr) in Roetteln was 149.16 fl., while at Durlach it was 770.63, at Karlsruhe - 753.81, Badenweiler - 243.14 fl, Pforzheim 214.56, at Hochberg - 165.03 fl. The jews of Rastatt, Ettlingen, and a few other Aemter (district-tr) were poorer still. Their per-head capital was 110.- fl. resp.64.15.

Other than in the cities the jewish population of the countryside remained poor and had difficulty earning the barest living after the punctually payable Schutzgeld. In Kirchen they traded mainly in wines & grains, left cattle to fatten in meadows or left it with farmers (for feed farmer kept milk & manure-tr). That under the oppressive circumstances they used any means of earning thier livelihood is disregarded even today in the 'moral' estimation of their means of earning their livings. If jews wanted to buy real estate, i.e. houses or land, the following order pertained in the margraviate: In re the purchase of houses by jews it was decided in more recent times, that in both parts of the ocuntry where jews live, they may buy houses without requiring special dispensation. Except for the general liability pertaining to all houses (taxes-tr) they are limited in certain ways:

1. That such houses with any side may not be opposite any side of a church, and not be nearer to the plaza surrounding the church 200 feet counting from the nearest side of the church.....

A clear example of this generally poor economic situation worsened for the jews by means of special rules and laws is the letter of Lazarus Braunschweig of Loerrach, parnas, dated 23 May 1765, in which he writes to the margrave in the name of all jews living in Oberamt Roetteln, and in which he requests rescission of the rule requiring all contracts between & christians to be signed by two honest christian men and the head of the village or toen. The old rule had made all commerce impossible for jews. In order to bypass this expensive and time-consuming law peasants would prefer to sell to foreign jews or would go to Basel to the market. This law damages the country more than it helps. Of the same opinion were the heads of communities of Loerrach, Oettingen, Efringen, Tuellingingen, Weil, Brombach, Wollbach & Kirchen.

Already on 13 July 1765 the reply came from Durlach. A change was decreed for the Oberaemter Roetteln, Badenweiler & Hochberg, as it said, due to 'particular princely leniency'. In ordinary trade now a single honest christian, who had no debts to a jew, was to be brought in as witness, chosen by the christian party to the trade. All other business with foreign jews, and with all principal and final accountings, also promissory notes and property transfers between christian and jews, will continue with the original law.

In addition to this complicated method of doing business, a new duty applied to new jewish settlers in the Oberland, in that they had to buy from the orphanage-factory at Pforzheim at least 200 fl. woolen goods. The jews had to resell the expensive goods in foreign countries in order to retain the local market within the country.

A misfortune was the conversion to catholicism of the jew David Guenzburger, who had been so successful in representing the interests of the jews in the Oberland, in 1753, and a new revision of this question was necessary. Because of the growing number of jews in the Oberland for Unterschultheisse (sub-mayors-tr) were appointed, one each for the margraviate Hochberg, the city of Sulzburg, the domain Badenweiler, and the land-graviate Sausenburg with domain Roetteln. Lazarus Braunschweig became 'mayor' of the jews of Roetteln. As 'Oberschultheiss' functioned the court factor Salomon Meyer at Karlsruhe, who often had to speak for the jews of Loerrach.

Difficulties also arose with the butchers due to 'schaechten' (ritual slaughter-tr) particularly since the butcher's guild law of 1755 ordered that in future butchers were to slaughter the cattle and sell the meat to the jews.

Par.1/ of the Schutzpriore settled the meat supply for jewish families. Each jew could slaughter for his household as much meat as he needed, beeves, calves & sheep. What he was not allowed to use because of jewish law he could sell by the quarter or the pound, but not at usury and without damaging butchers.

In the 30's of the 18th century the jews and butchers agreed:...that the jews were allowed to annually slaughter 25 pieces of cattle, ritually. The new butcher order called for the butcher to slaughter the cattle and sell the meat to the jews, however. Therefor the butchers wanted'neither the cattle needed in our households , nor the accorded 25 beeves to be butchered....'. Since the jews saw themselves damaged by this reduction of a given right they on 11 January 1757 requested protection and were supported in their demand by the Oberamt.

A Hofratsdekret (court councillor's decree-tr) of 9 March 1757 ordered that when the jews and butchers can't agree the Oberamt is to order 'according to proportion of the jewry for their household use a certain quantity that they may themselves slaughter, but must take care that they may not eat of the ritually slaughtered cattle, except when at a place designated publicly the same is reviewed by non-partisan inspectors for quality and true value, to be sold at the legal price, in order to prevent all trickery and the forbidden peddling. (The above is a single sentence in older german - I think I got it right - tr).

How the decision of the Oberamt worked out we don't know. However it was not enough to prevent new difficulties that arose 1763 and had to be adjusted as follows. It had to contain the seed for more arguments because again the increase of jewish families was disregarded.

21 January 1764 Landvogt von Wallbrun of the Oberamt issued the following decree: After the agreement of 19 January 1764 between the heads of the butchers guild of the local Oberamt on one part, and the jewry of Loerrach and Kirchen on the other, concerning the slaughtering permitted the jews of cattle needed for their year's needs the following is ordered:

1. That the Kirchener as well as the Loerracher jews according to their needs, and for each holiday the Loerrach jews may slaughter 2 'Schmahl' (?-tr) cattle and the Kirchener, one, but the butchers of each place to be sold the hindquarter of such cattle, or the whole if same proved not kosher, at 2 rappen per pound, or if they won't take it the jews may sell it themselves.
2. If the jews need meat for other than holidays they are to advise the butchers in order that they obtain kosher meat and offer it to the jewry at the regular price. In case they will not procure it, the jewry totally - not each household - may obtain the necessary cattle and slaughter it themselves.
3. Between Christmas & Easter the jews are to be provided salted meat for the year so they can prepare it in their fashion, the Loerracher 20, the Kirchener 12 cattle, but under the same condition that the butchers are required to buy the un-kosher meat as well as the hind quarters.
4. In order not to overload the citizenry with meat such excess meat shall be

distributed in the communities/villages Kirchen, Friedlingen, Efringen and Eimeldingen.

Where did the 38 - 40 jews who 1760 - 1780 lived their uncomfortable lives in Kirchen? From Blotzheim in Alsace 2 persons immigrated. from Dornach /Ct. Solothurn 6, from Duermenach/Alsace 1, Emmendingen 3, Harburg/Alsace 1, Loerrach 4, Muellheim 1, Molsheim/Als. 1, Maerkt 2, Niedersepte/Als. 3, Opfingen/Freiburg 1, Seb/Als. 1, Sierenz/Als. 1, and from Wolfzern/Als. 2 persons.

As mentioned above 1735/1736 the brothers Bloch came from Dornach, Ct. Solothurn, Switzerland. 1749 the Loerracher Lazarus Braunschweig asked for the gracious protective acceptance of his brother Jacob to Kirchen. 1753 Moses Samuel from Wolfzen/Strassburg, 1756 Schmul from the same place sought acceptance at Kirchen. 1760 followed the already named Samuel Ullmann, 1766 Samuel Ruf of Blotzheim, 1780 a Schlummel Bloch, merchant from Seb/Als. Up to & incl. 1820 by marriage or immigration for economic reasons were added jews from primarily Baden communities, from Emmendingen, Loerrach, Muellheim, Maerkt & Opfingen.

What is apparent in this list is the concentration of the home towns of the immigrants from Alsace, but also for the period great distance and distribution. Did the various jurisdiction in Alsace have stricter jew laws? The large distribution of the emigration towns can be fairly simply explained by the almost universal jew law in which only the first-born child had the opportunity to be accepted in the Schutz of his birthplace. Those following often had to wander for a long time.

This colorfully mixed collection of people probably organized itself into a congregation quite soon. According to Zehnter the Kirchen jews built a synagogue already 1766. This is questionable for many reasons. Numerically the congregation was too small to even need a room exclusively for worship, and financially they could never have managed the cost of a synagogue building. I also question Schmidt's assertion, who thinks that this date hides the new construction of a Betsaal (prayer room-tr). For this the congregation lacked the money. Also, Minyan by ca. 40 pop. was hardly likely, this means 7-8 families, without help from outside.

The jews of Kirchen held their worship in the house of the Schutzjude July Bloch until Easter 1789. Only after this date can one speak of a building similar to a synagogue. It was set up in an already existing house and served the congregation until the new construction for the new synagogue 1831 for worship.

P.28. In this house (Fr. Rottra Str. 31) was probably the first Betsaal. To conceptualize a jewish congregation (or community-tr) is very difficult. Ancient talmudic concepts mix with legal & religious & organizational views of

of the christian surroundings. S.Taeubler-Stern defines as follows: The jewish congregation cooperatively unified, solidary, autonomous body, that totally administers it's financial, social, police and legal affairs freely and independently. Seen socially it is a corporate organization, constitutionally democratic, socially an oligarchy. Constitutionally the congregation carries out all functions, each taxed member has the right to elect officials & head of the congregation (Parnas-tr). Just as the congregaiton can be said to be democratic it can be called oligarchic. Certain groups within the congregation, the rich, well known- and -regarded, etc. hold the most important offices. Until deep into the 18th century the autonomy of the jewish congregation was untouched. Only the absolutist state curtailed these rights since all power comes from the state. It mixes into the congregation's affairs. It settles or clears all arguments, organizes the finances, orders the congregation & business books to be written in german.

" Since the beginning of the 18th century Baden-Durlach had a unterlaendische..... and oberlaendische Landjudenschaft (country jewry-tr) comprising the Oberamt Emmendingen, Herrschaften Badenweiler & Roetteln, and the landgraviate Sausenburg....At it's head stood a Oberschultheiss (Over Mayor-tr), Oberlandrabbiner and three lawyers to care for all congregational affairs, for the settlement of all disputes and for representation of the jewry vis-a-vis the state. At it's side were the deputies, generally elected every three years, representing the three classes - the rich, middle and poor - who at these gatherings set the tax rate, hwo they were to be disposed of, and the election of officials. The jewish congregation of Kirchen from it's beginning was under the rabbinate of Sulzburg. To this belonged the Oberland congregations von Emmendingen to Saeckingen, in our region Sulzburg, Muellheim, Loerrach & Kirchen. The actual founder of the rabbinate Sulzburg is the afore-mentioned Joseph Guenzburger, Handelsmann & Judenvogt (trader and jews governor-tr) of Alt-Breisach. On 14 May 1720 he wrote to the margrave that the jews of the Herrschaft Hochberg and Badenweiler owuld for a long time already like to have a rabbi for the instruction of the teachings and laws of judaism as well as the settling of disputes. At the same time he recommended a candidate: David Kahn of Alt-Breisach. 1727 he became rabbi of Sulzburg and remained until his death in 1744. Isak Kahn, his son followed in office 1744 and later was given the title of 'Landrabbiner. He died 1797 at a great age. In the same year Abraham Weil, grandson of the famous Oberlandrabbiner Nathanael Weil, was chosen rabbi at Sulzburg and held this office until his death 1831.

For the sake of completeness we should mention the last rabbi at Sulzburg, Emmanuel Dreifuss. After him the rabbinate Sulzburg was transferred to the newly

founded rabbinate Freiburg. (List of rabbis responsible for Kirchen-see Anhang # 21.

The position fo a rabbi before the constituional edicts was that of a totally independent judge in all concerns of the congregations, with the exception of the serious crimes (murder, manslaughter). Often he was the only one who could write german, and was constantly petitioner & correspondent for the congregation. Highly respected in the jewish congregations, on an equal level with christian clergy since 1809 under the grand-ducal damistration, the rabbi had as singualr position among the jews of that period.

During this time, the founding of the jewish congregation of Kirchen, in 1771 the margraviates of Baden-Durlach & Baden-Baden combined. New economic ideas & knowledge came from France: The economics of the Physiocrats. Margrave Karl Friedrich (1728-1811) was an enthusiastic supporter, discontinued the current economics policies of closed borders for the import of goods and the one-sided advantage to manufacturers. If according to the teachings of the physiocrats trade destroyed character, it was not the fault of the trader but of the trade. If only the contact with the earth made one natural & free, one therefor had to fill mankind with the blessings of the earth that were the furthest removed from nature.

P. 30-left: Margrave Karl-Friedrich (1728-1811)
right: Johann Georg Schlosser (1739-1799)

1775 Goethe's brother-in-law, the Oberamtmann at Emmendingen, Johann Georg Schlosser, undertakes a venture that all of Germany sought to duplicate. He sat down with the heads of the jewish congregations of his Oberamt and the teachers of the christian schools in order to organize instruction in the elementary subjects reading, writing & arithretic for jewish children.

In a report of 12 Sept.1776 he wrote to Karlsruhe: The german reading and writing schools has such good results for the jews that on visits I am amazed to see how in so very few months they've advanced so far in spelling & reading as well as writing as the christian children couldn't after several years. Of course the model-character of this school experiments remained just that much too long. Even as the 'Teutsche Judenschule' (german jews school-tr) by law became one required to be attended by all required to attend elementary school, the country communities were slow to respond. These schools instructed only boys to the 13th year. Girls were not required to attend these schools if they were good at sewing and knitting.

Alongside these economic and school-political improvements in 1781 a book caused attention that strangely enough was again written by an official, the

prussian Kriegerat (war councillor-tr) & archivist Wilhelm Dohm." About the civic improvement of the jews". Dohm, a close friend of the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786) in his book referred to the degrading position of the jews that had only one reason, i.e. that they were jews. As precondition for the demanded emancipation Dohm saw the change on part of state & society. Only a year later, 18 October 1781 the Tolerance Edict of the austrian Joseph II removed all repressing jews laws of the past in the austrian areas of the later country Baden. However a court decree of 2 March 1786 required that poor jews whose estate didn't reach the minimum of 100 gulden, were as possible urged to emigrate.

With the above exceptions jews were free to live where they pleased, could send their children to already existing public schools or their own jewish schools, and had the opportunity to learn the trade of their choice. These new political, spiritual and not least the new economic ideas made a deep impression on the very liberal thinking Margrave Karl Friedrich of Baden. Already on Febr. 1, 1782 he asked his court council a report on the new austrian laws in the neighborhood.what & how of the new austrian laws is applicable to the jewish inhabitants of our country...and how jews can be urged to learn trades, and how their nourishment can be improved without disadvantage to the rest of the people". The reports from the various districts tended generally towards a more liberal position versus the jews. Typical is the report of the economist Sontheim of Loerrach. He demanded equal rights for the jews as the christians have since the latter here and there also are impoverished, particularly 'because they can't grasp the lifestyle to which they are suited.'

Shortly thereafter serfdom was abolished in Baden, 1783, but which did not concern the jews since they were never serfs due to their particular status as 'Schutzjuden'.

The decree of Jan. 20, 1804 also did away the 'Leibzoll' (customs duty for jews-tr) as well as that applicable to deaths. 1798 the church authorities were asked if they could accept jews in general schools. The reply was positive, but had a few restrictions that are worth mentioning: ...Jews shall be seated separately in the schoolrooms because they rarely observe the cleanliness customary among christians and still further because they rarely can do away or hide their idiosyncratic smell.... Early 1801 the Bad. Hofrat Philipp Holzmann wrote a report on the means, in his opinion, of emancipating the jews. "Over the civic improvement of the jews in the lands of Baden". Holzmann's report breathes the spirit of the french revolution and follows in large part the publication of his friend Dohm. he analyses the current laws as a conglomeration of superstition and ignorance.

Holzmann continues: One has viewed the jews as a people damned and depraved, held them under terrible pressures and acted unjustly towards them....It is not the state's affair what the jews religious beliefs are, if only they do their duty as citizens, and if they do that the state has the best means in it's hands" These demands of Holzmann for the future show, viewed from today, exactly the way followed by the jewry of Baden to 1862. It was to take over a half century until Holzmann's proposals would become reality. The time was not ripe 1801 for these plans. They went the way of uncomfortable advice, into archives.

ADVANCEMENT (1803 - 1864)

P.32 - Margraviate Baden - 1800
Grand Duchy Baden - 1815

"That the jews since the destruction of Jerusalem, that is, since more than 1700 years, live on the whole earth in dispersal with no fatherland or civil rights, that most of them without doing any useful work have to support themselves from the inhabitants of a country, and that in many places are treated as foreigners, maltreated and persecuted, is know to God & sorrow. Many in ignorance say 'One should chase them from the country'. Another says sensibly ' one should make working and useful people of them and then keep them'. This beginning was made by the great emperor Napoleon... and in 1806... he had written to the entire jewry in France that they should send him of their midst sensible and learned men.....Therefor he formed the jewish meeting ...the Great Sanhedrin.. that was translated a meeting and in olden times was called the great council at Jerusalem..."

Hebel's view of history of the legal solution of the jewish emancipation desires. exemplified with the fall of the great emperor Napoleon, is similarly the echo of the strong changes in jewish laws in Baden.

Baden, that as already mentioned, came into existance by Napoleon's grace and the cleverness of the Paris envoy Sigmund Karl Johann, Freiherr von Reizenstein (1766 - 1847, with it's borders intact until 1952, by means of the melding of the most different districts, was basically forced to a new jew policy by three factors:

P.33 S.K.J.,Freiherr von Reizenstein, 1766 - 1847
N.F.Brauer, 1754 - 1813

The Development of Population - 1771 - 1809.

In the margraviates united 1771 lived 1790 2,186 jews or a pop.or 109,070,
jews = 1.3% of pop.

In Electorate Baden - 1803 - 6,500 jews, 450,000 pop. = 1.44%

Grand Duchy Baden - 1806 - 12,000 jews, 902,498 pop. = 1.33%

The jewish population grew over 5-fold by 1806 compared to 1790, the total population increased just a bit less. The problems resulting from these developments can no longer be managed with the laws of an absolutist state. In addition to the impact of these numbers one may not forget the actual contribution to the new laws, the 9 constitutional edicts, made by Baden. In the drawers and archives of the grand-ducal offices were the proposals, memos, and reports for the improvement of the jews in Baden. Much what had been done by these officials and court councillors still had validity in 1806, one thinks only of Holzmann's report.

The efforts of three men must be mentioned in connection with the 9 constitutional edicts in Baden. They were mainly written by Nikolaus Friedrich Brauer (1754-1813), Geheimer Rat & adaptor of the Code Napoleon for Baden. His two associates were Karl Wilhelm Freiherr von Biberstein (1763-1817), actual secret councillor and head of the police 1806-1808, since 1809 minister of State and then interior minister, and the already mentioned Freiherr von Reizenstein. They gave the Grand Duke a basic law that had no equal in German countries. The third factor is taken from Hebel's report of the Great Sanhedrin in Paris. 1806 a meeting was held of Jewish notables followed 1807 by the Great Sanhedrin reported by Hebel. 1808 Napoleon's few decrees followed.

This Napoleonic decree gave impetus to the legal reforms already in concept. Of the individual edicts:

The first edict of 14 May 1807 brought the Jewish confession 'constitutional toleration'. Whereas in 1803 the three (3) Christian confessions were declared equal to one another and accepted constitutionally in this first edict, the actual equality between the Christian churches and the Jewish religion was not yet fact. Rabbis as other clergy were seen as government employees in the performance of their duties (circumcision, marriage, burial).

The sixth edict of 4 June 1808 brought further improvement for Baden's Jews. They were declared full citizens who passed that right to their heirs. With this their relationship versus the state was set. However in their communities (towns, villages) they were still *Schutzbuerger* and had no right to common land nor the right to vote in communal elections. In exceptional cases the Grand Duke could grant them local citizenship. But strangers became people who had a right to live in their community without restriction. Freedom of movement in the present manner did not exist for non-Jews either.

'*Private laws*' is what Rosenthal calls the laws regarding the condition of the Jews, which were variously interpreted. They required an exact direction for their application.

These rules of application re the previous edicts on 13 January 1809 brought

about the 9th constitutional edict, the so-called 'jews edict', that was largely composed by Geheimrat Brauer.

In the introduction of the edict the civic equality of the jews is expressed ...to go into effect when in political and moral culture they seek to equal that of the christians...so that civic equality shall not be disadvantageous to the other citizens!.

In all these edicts & laws is the spirit of 'Bevormundung' (having one's mind made up for one-tr), the 'corrections-spirit' as Dubrow calls it. Equal treatment & equality of jews was often lost in a bulge of special rules. Jews were to become christians, that is the simplified tenor of these laws.

But were not these constitutional edicts the hope of all Germany's jews, didn't the jews of the other german states view the attainments of the jews of Baden with a certain envy, and weren't the Baden jews heartily grateful for these achievements?

Certainly one can agree with Dubrow's verdict; it wasn't a perfect law that once and for all removed all the disadvantages of the jews and brought equality. But also the jewish community of Kirchen will have fully agreed with these edicts since they saw their friends and relatives in the Basel region live in considerably less freedom.

Because of the constant wars of the time the jews of the Oberland were less affected by these modern jew laws right off. This was also due to the spiritual head of the jews in Sulzburg, the unwordly & spiritual Rabbi Abraham Weil, who did nothing for the jews in his care towards teaching them the basis and spirit & comprehension of their new rights, not to awaken them to their new duties. He was primarily concerned that his sheep follow the religious laws strictly, which at the time was a matter of course of the then jewry. Only in 1814 he circularized the leaders of his flock to prepare the preconditions for the effectiveness of the new edicts, as if these people really had the ability to work towards the new needs of their people. It would have been appropriate for him to intensively visit his congregations and to expound the new spirit. How unwordly for that time and unequal for his position is shown by two circulars that I enclose below, of which the second was answered wisely by Nathan Reutlinger. "The equality of the jews -re.4 August 1814

To the Parnas Nathan Reutlinger in Loerrach & Kirchen!

By the mild, loving & paternal highest will of his royal highness, our beloved prince of our land, who ordered the full equality of the israelites with the other subjects in all civic & political matters expressed in Gov't. paper of 1809 # 6, we must meet the need to overcome the changes and un-permitted civil

affairs and must overcome the lowered customs and morals of our co-religionists and raise them in order to follow the new directions as per highest wish.

It is therefor the absolute requirement that the heads of the isr.congregations keep a watchful eye out on his subjects and to ensure by all proper means that propriety & morality shall exist among them.

The first guide thereto is the holy religion. This is the source of trust & devotion, the support of the state, and with it's mild hand leads to morality, propriety & justice - and finally the source of happiness.

The parnas will from time to time remind the religion teacher that they teach and advise their students in their duties. One will in time issue instruction to the parnas.

Meanwhile the same is requested to within 3 weeks reply to the following questions:

- a) What is the current moral situation in your district?
- b) What means have been employed to date to raise same?
- c) if one has taken care to advise of the highest purpose and explained, that in order to be worthy of the great good will, that one as soon as possible give up the 'Nothandel' and in it's place place seek an occupation similar to that of the other citizens means of support?

The parnas will easily see the importance of this and what attention thereto is required in order to follow the highest will.

Sulzburg, 4 August 1814. /s/ Provincial Rabbi Abraham Weyl."

P. 36 Thias Weil, Oberland Rabbiner in Karlsruhe (1721 - 1805)

"Dancing on Sabbaths & Holidays. 4 June 1819.

High Priesterly Directorium!

Resp.plea of the Oberrhein.Prov.rabbi Abraham Weil at Sulzburg, the abolition of dancing on sabbath, festivals & holidays at the isr.local congregations Breisach, Hesinde, Eichstetten, Emmerdingen, Sulzburg, Muellheim, Loerrach & Kirchen.

When in 1798 the gracious government of our land appointed me Landesrabbiner I have like my father the Oberlandesrabbiner Thias Weyl in Karlsruhe, forbidden the named isr.congregaitons the dancing on the sabbath-, festival- and holidays, and for the following reasons:

- 1) Our mosaic laws forbids dancing on such days.
- 2) It is generally and too well known that this sort of dancing has no other purpose than a get-to-gether of pleasure seekers, in order to create mischief and immorality which certainly no state allows.
- 3) Likewise I am convinced, and it is proven, that jewish youth, among them many poor who barely earn a gulden a week by their Nothandel, wasta a great deal of money. I ask now, where do tehse poor people get their money? Certain and in no other way, either they steal it from their poor parents or obtain it

in some other unjust manner.

4) It is proven that these holiday dances are even damaging to the christian inhabitants, because our holidays usually fall on the christian workdays. Now if the christian youth hears of a dance in town they let their work in the fields go and run to the dance, lose money & don't work. Therefor double damage evolves that often causes conflict in the christian families. For these reasons have I forbidden this dancing to jewish youth. One followed my orders for a time until the sad waryears arrived, which damaged people not only physically but in their soul. Since these time isr.youth denies obedience. I requested Bezirksaemter (local authorities-tr) to refuse to issue dance-permits but in this too I was deceived. One also hears that the youth is now more enlightened than in former times. Wish to G'd it were so, then they would keep to their rleigion more punctiliously. Just the Enlightenment bids us to honor the religion because it asks for nothing that isn't good and asks: To serve the prince and fatherland with love, loyalty & devotion. It is therefor self-evident that each disregard of the religion is damaging to the state.

I therefor plead that my arguments kindly be regarded and respectfully ask that they be ordered into force that on holidays no permits for dances be issued, and that those who still dare to dance be punished corporally.....

Sulzburg, 4 June 1819, loyally, Abraham Weyl, Porv.Rabbi.

The grand-ducal Bezirksamt agreed with the concern for the morals of the youth but on the other hand noted that since forever the sundays & holidays were an occasion of pleasure and merriment to the christians, and that therefor a most proper dance should be permitted for the single people.

The Loerrach Parnas declared hereto that in his view the provincial rabbi had more important things to concern him...At least I believe that the 25 fl. that are paid him by the local jewish congregation annually, arebetter applied to:

- 1) to see that youth is educated and raised in religion
- 2) to see that the congregation has a good teacher,
- 3) that at least several times a year the synagogue rules are revued and that sermons are held to instruct the congregation in proper morals so that everyone will know what is right & wrong according to mosaic law, what one should and shouldn't do.

As long as I've been Parnas the prov.rabbi has not concerned himself with these matters. We need on occassion at great expense to seek advise from a rabbi in the neighboring Alsace. For this reason we must complain and remind him to his duty so that we don't have to pay the 25 fl. for nothing.

Following the 9th constitutional edict the jews in Kirchen as elsewhere in Baden, the state now concerned itself with the up to now quite sovereign community life. So the jews were required to have the proper entries made in the registries immediately, as per art.XXX of the edict.

"The jew-mayor (Juden-Schulz) is to be advised to be sure that fo each marriage, birth & death proper notice is given" is in a report of the Bezirksamt Loerrach of 1 Febr.1816. in the same report that tells of the local occurrences for the past year, continues: "The jews in Kirchen apparently are in a very backward situation. The Amt has to observe this particularly, with particular attention to the keeping of the civil register be followed strictly according to proper order and form, particualrly however that the work-able young male jewish citizens not be admitted to Nothandel, but are directed to learning a trade. In order to reach this charitable purpose one must proceed strictly against the parents or guardians of such you jewish males who are capable of learning a trade and not to permit exception other than the most critical reasons from the general rule.

How did the jewish congregation of Kirchen appear in these years of internal and external change?

1803 there were 48-50 members, 1810 there were 60. It was a young congregation. 1803 more than 70% of the jews then were under 30 year of age. 1810 it was still 58% under 30. A slight excess of men - 1803 - 56.8%, 1810 - 52 % is noted.

P.39 Contract for sale of a calf between buyer Johann Georg Wettlin of Efringen and Jesaias Bloch of Kirchen as seller.
(tr.note: body of contract is german script, signature of J.Bloch in cursive hebrew)

The occupational structure of the jews of Kirchen at this time is generally the same as mentioned in the previous chapter. A noticeable improvement is shown nevertheless in the change to cattle dealing (Viehandel). The income of the cattle dealers of this time cannot of course be compared with those of before and after the World War (I) which was much hinger. The economic and also the socially more stable positions improve in the listing of the second generation of the local jews. While primarily in the first generation of jews is the Nothandel, judged by the year after coming under 'Schutz' cattle dealing takes the place of the former more and more.

This development shows an improvement in the economic health of the jewish Land-gemeinde, but is still far from the demands of the constitutional edict, according to which jews were to work 'at a means of support available to christians.' The relative late dates of the Schutzaufnahme (taking in Schutz-tr) 1816 & later show how difficult was the occupational change. The local citizenship within the home-community was dependant on the applicants occupation as per

Art.18, 19, & 20 of the 9th const.edict.

1810 it came to a novum in the jewish community in Kirchen: jewish tradesmen/artisans came to Kirchen for occupational reasons.

Moses Seligman (182.0) and Samuel Moses (147.0) were cobblers, Moses Levy was mechanic (124.0), Bernhard Lieberles (130.0) turner, Samuel Lieberles (129.0) weaver and jew inn keeper, Samuel Bloch (45.0) butcher, Sigmund Weil (189.0) soapmaker. Of course it should be mentioned that most of these mentioned here were only born about the turn of the last century. Schmidt notes:... the main occupation for the local jews is almost exclusively trading and the trades of mechanic & cobbler...doen for a while... finds the plain declaration in the already noted const.edict paragraphs and their very accurate implementation by the Oberaemter. The Oberrat in Karlsruhe adds: The efforts of the administration to integrate the jews into the christian population occupationally & socially, i.e. to make artisans & peasants of them, bore fruit slowly.

By the reports of the visitations of the jewish congregations of Baden one can directly judge the great economic plight of the jews. "Their ancestors cannot have stood poorer before the brick kilns in Egypt as this ruined people in their miserable huts... their hunger and nakedness forces them to do what the Talmud permits them: the old and the sick were abandoned by their families due to poverty...one can certainly assume that seven eights of the Land's jewry lives off Nothandel in the true spirit (i.e.Not= need-tr), half from dealing in small animals and peddling, and half from begging, that with the greater requirements and vigilance on part of the citiznery and peasantry the jew was no longer in the position over them as 50 years past.

A particularly serious crime in March 1816 in Kirchen belongs in the context of the just described social difficulties of the Landjuden of Baden.

Report of the Oberhofgericht (High Court-tr) Mannheim of 23 Nov.1816.

The 36-year old Hirz Bloch of Kirchen im Oberland, son of the there jews innkeeper (called Bannduttel) who previously went to small crimes because of his excesses & lazyness, decided on 21 March this year to murder the travelling merchant Baruch Kahn from Bissingen in Wurtemberg, who had stopped at the inn, and to rob him. On the following morning he went with him on the Landstrasse (highway-tr) towards Basel, hit him from behind with the murder weapon, a thick stick taken for the purpose, twice heavily on the head so that the stick broke, hit Baruch with the remain some more and then with a knife taken from a pocket mistreated him some more until he apparently lay dead on the ground, cut off the moneybelt & fled therewith. The dying man was found and vailly treated and died on the third day covered with 35 wounds that were found because of their

severity to be either debilitating or lethal. His Royal Highness the Grand Duke has confirmed the verdict of the Obergericht, whereby the admitted streetrobber and murderer is to be beheaded, and because of the gruesomeness of the crime the head be stuck upon a post. This death verdict was carried out at Loerrach the 15th of the month.

In the civil registry of the jews of 24 March 1816 is entered: Baruch Kahn. He was from Bissingen and died as a result of a cruel mistreatment, was autopsied 26 March 1816 and taken to Loerrach for burial. The deceased was 53. Witnesses: Herz Block-Mock, Shulz, and Marx Braunschweig-Wolf.

E.Kaiser reports in his autobiography that the last person executed in Oberamt Roetteln had been a jew from Kirchen.

In the history of the jewish congregation fo Kirchen this, however, remained the first and last serious crime that I came across in my research. The immigration tendency remains 1820 - 1847 as already described. The immigration from Switzerland ebbs totally, whereas that from Alsace continued and that from jewish congregation in Baden grows. So above all from Maerkt, Kippenheim, Rust, Emmendingen, Schmieheim, Adelsheim, Breisach & Eichstetten. Those from Alsace are from Hegenheim, Hagenthal, Duermenach, etc. Amont the 30 reviewed immigrants in thsi time period 19 came to Kirchen to marry, 63 %. Only 11 come to Kirchen b ecause they see better opportunity for trading or earnings or other family reason, i.e. came with families. 69% of the immigrants are under 30.

Another result of the 9th const.edict was the requirement that jewish children are now required to attend the local schools for jewish children where they learn reading, writing, arithmetic, morality and write compositions...also Geography, history where that is taught. But in judaism there was always instruction. In the 5th Book of Moses 6.6-7 says: " And these words, that I give you today, shall be written in your heart, and shall teach them to your children, and you shall speak of them when you sit in your house and when you walk on the road, when you lie down and when you arise".

Already in earliest youth began the instruction of boys & girls who first of all had to learn the written teachings (Thora & Talmud), by the latter (i.e.girls) at least enough so that they could read hebrew prayers and the womens books printed in hebrew letters in yiddish (or judeo-german? -tr.note)

Religious education was first in parents hands, then to a young man, often a rabbinical student, who was hired by the congrregation or a few families, the Bochor, or the congregational rabbi himself taught.

The general & widespread aversion against attendance of the christian schools was not so much against the learning to be gottern there as against the spirit

evangelic parsons office and protested: 'that the jewish schoolchildren have as reader the protestant catechism and probably also have to listen to christian religious instruction and learn it'. he energetically demanded abrogation of this illegality, but left the evangelic authority (Pfarramt) the choice of a reader and requested that 'the new reader to be introduced not carry principally christian teachings'. The Kirchen school authority, altho 10 years later, decided that 'the isr.students be given the biblical 'History of teh Old Testament' by Hebel, in agreement with the synagogue elders.

How sharply and consequently otherwise the exsiting laws 7 decrees were applied is shown by a case from the town archives Kirchen-Efringen VI.I.20: Regulations re the cantors, etc.1821-1851: On 20 August 1821 the cantor of the jews in Kirchen, Abraham Schwab from Kronweissenburg/Bavaria, the order "with his family to leave Kirchen and return to his home", since on 29 June 1821 a regulation was promulgated requiring all foreign cantors to leave Baden". The Kirchen synagogue was ordered 'to fill the vacant cantor's post within four weeks with a suitable domestic subject'.

Jewish religious instruction, given outside school hours, included: Thora translation, hebrew language, hebrew penmanship, hebr.reading and learning the benedictions. In larger jewish congregations of the cities, but for example also in Sulzburg, in 1795 a jewish 'Konfessionsschule'(denominational school-tr) was established, at which since 1804 the son of the Landesrabbiner Isak Kahn, Leopold Kahn, taught as a teacher employed by the state.

P.41 Moses Nordmann, 1809-1884, Religion teacher at Kirchen 1834, later Rabbi at Hegenheim/Alsace & Basel.

Until 1834 Moses Nordmann taught in Kirchen as house-teacher; he would later become rabbi at Hegenheim/Alsace (b.20 Sept.1809 - d.20 April 1884,(162). Unfortunately there is no documentation on his activities at Kirchen. So it is not known at which family he taught. He belonged to a new generation of theology. Nordmann no longer studied only at the Talmud schools but also at the universities at Nancy, Wuerzburg & Heidelberg where was confronted with the new thought of his time (i.e.Abraham Geiger at heidelberg). On 15 September 1834 he was elected rabbi of Hegenheim after dramatic election confrontations with his opposing orthodox candidate Cohn. He experienced the highest flowering and the downfall of his congregation. Quite a number of reform were instituted by him. He founded a society for furthering of agriculture and reform school instruction. But against the orthodox convictions of his alsatian Landgemeinde he could not always prevail. Constant clashes with his orthodox colleagues took so much of his strength that he was unable to spread his ideas much further.

Ancient and highly honored in the jewish congregations the honorary office of Parnas.

and methods of these trivial schools, that were to prepare 'the city dweller or the country person in all knowledge needed for his lifetime occupation as christian and citizen, however without really giving him the chance to mentally develop himself because he might then neglect his trade or even dislike it." Compulsory school attendance began at age 7 and with girls ended at 13, and boys at 14 years of age. The school supervision was by the local parson, the first instance of supervision, and a church elder.

After 13 January 1809 the jewish children had to attend these schools, even tho free of christian religious instruction, but in all subjects excepting arithmetic, the subject of reading books, language instruction so woven thru with christianity that not requiring attendance from christian instruction in today's meaning is unthinkable. Compositions were written of biblical stories, reading was almost exclusively biblical stories, and songs were from the hymnals.

An officially ordered religion course was established for the jewish students. Even the contents thereof were ordered, it must stress " morality, love for fellow man, devotion to the state and civil order after the clear basis from Moses and the Prophets.....so that they will be as amiable as when the nation still formed a state."

1809 the first teacher known to us jewish teacher. Samuel Ruf from Blotzheim/Alsace(177.0) taught here until 1820. The isr.teachers in the small Landgemeinden were generally also cantors and frequently Schochets, i.e. butcher following the ritual slaughtering methods.

The task of these teachers went way beyond school-teaching. They were in a congregation without a rabbi the center of the spiritual & religious life. In worship they functioned as cantor jsut as their advice was sought in difficult questions, for the rabbi of the district sat at Sulzburg and came at most twice a year for testing religious instruction of teh children.

The school attendance of the jewish children in Kirchen of the evangelical town school left much to be desired after the 9th const.edict.

In March 1813 the following decision re compulsory school attendance was sent the parson and mayor at Kirchen: Without differentiation all jewish children shall and msut attend the christian school irregardless any conditions that do not concern religious instruction. A list of all children of school age must be given to the schoolmaster by the mayor every easter (trad.beg.of school year-tr.note) The jewish schoolmaster has to give an attest re his abilities within 14 days. How little of the liberal spirit of the 9th.const.edict entered the consciousness of the administration is shown by the following situation that was found by the district rabbi during exams at the religious school in Kirchen 13 Oct.1836, 27 years after the edict went into effect. Rabbi Dreifuss writes to the

evangelic parsons office and protested: 'that the jewish schoolchildren have as reader the protestant catechism and probably also have to listen to christian religious instruction and learn it'. he energetically demanded abrogation of this illegality, but left the evangelic authority (Pfarramt) the choice of a reader and requested that 'the new reader to be introduced not carry principally christian teachings'. The Kirchen school authority, altho 10 years later, decided that 'the isr. students be given the biblical 'History of teh Old Testament' by Hebel, in agreement with the synagogue elders.

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Again and again it is translated as 'Vorstand' or 'Vorsteh'er'(head of...tr). Basically it has another meaning. It originally means the activity of caring and nourishing and not primarily that of administration or presiding. In the smaller Landgemeinden that formed themselves until 1809 without state regulation quite freely, this high office was mostly given the economically and socially stable member of the congregation, who generally was considered the least influenced by varying opinions. The first head of the congregation known to us is Herz Bloch-Mock (22.0) who also was titled 'Vorsteh'er' or 'Judenschulz'. In the 9th const.edict his office was delineated: "Each town synagogue has ... an elder of the community, named of the most 'gebildet')educated,cultured-tr) citizens ...and approved by the administration". He was responsible for ...the 'church' conduct, for the fulfilling the orders from the authority". Already 1816 the above-mentioned Herz Bloch-Mock is named as the 'former Schulz'. After 1833 two synagoge councillors stood at his side. This group was called 'Synagogenrat' (synagogue council or board-tr) and depending on the size of the congregation consisted of 3 - 7 members by the members of the congregation entitled to vote by a simple majority. These electees were affirmed by the Bezirksamt. After consultation with the district synagogue and the Bezirksamt one of them would be named 'Vorsteh'er'. The term of office was 6 years. Every three years half the council had to be replaced by a new election. With Menge Bloch in 1835 the first such Synagogenrat was named for Kirchen. 1841 it was Elias Bloch and the two councillors were Joseph Olesheimer & Menge Bloch. The election rules were as follows: Entitled to vote are those men at least 25 years old, members of the isr.religious community of the Grand Duchy Baden, who are for at least a year inhabitants of the community and had appropriate church taxes to the congregation for the previous year. Excluded are: 1) incapacitated, 2) who receive support from public poor funds, 3) who have no direct household nor pay direct state taxes....8)during a bankruptcy case, 9)who are more than a year in arrears with church taxes".

As happens so often in small groups these honorary offices were often placed in the service of personal seeking after might or for special interests. A good proof of that is in the still existing documents, letters, complaints, etc. of the Kirchen jews vs. their Synagogenraethe & vice versa. For the s.rat elections every 3/6 years less and less candidates appeared. When it was managed to get some candidates of whom 2 or 3 would be elected, generally one or at times both declined the election for business reasons.

P.43 Postcard showing the Gasthaus zum Rebstock. Both towers of the synagogue are clearly visible to the left of peak of the inn.

A further institution of the congregation, that specifically named aonly appears after 1892, but whose work was de facto done by the S.rat of the period, was the appraisal commission. The means for it's requirements had to provided within the congregation itself. The congr. had to partially pay the religion teacher, build a synagogue, support the poor, etc. The total sum of these needs was now apportioned among the membership of teh congregation. The " order for the taxation for the religous requirements of the individual isr. congregations and the district synagogue' of 26 May 1826 laid down the means and procedure for the election of the appraisors. They had to review the self-appraisals of the individual members. L.D.Kahn in his 'History of the Jews of Sulzburg' lists the items that were included in appraisals. Among them were all items beyond the direct perosnal needs, i.e. due bills & goods held for sale. Not included was the own house (residence) and the needed wheeled equipment. Each bridegroom had to pay 2% of his and 2% of his bride's estate. With this practice there were often protests over too high appraisals by the S.Rat. But here too: Compared with the enormous difficulties such an appraisal system engendered the protests and complaints must be considered minimal. It is much easier to accept the taxation of a 'higher authority' than the appraisal for the congregation by friends & relatives.

We find the first mention of a prayer room of the Kirchen jews in a petition to the margrave for support in building a new synagogue, dated 11 March 1789. There writes Moses Samuel: " The local jewry consiting of 9 households had up to now had met for theri common worship at the house of the Schutzzjude July Bloch but since easter he no longer can or will give up this room because he needs it for himself; another place to hold worship is not to be found here, and to buy any building or to build one, the poor jewry among only two to three are well off, is not well off enough. We cannot be deprived of a place to assemble."

The Kirchen jews therefor request via the Loerrach Oberamt the Margrave for finacial aid for the acquisition of such a building, as he already has done in the Unterland. The congregation could perhaps offer a suitable plot. 700 fl. is the estimate for such a building.

The Oberamt agrees to this plan if the jewry fo Kirchen communally assumes liability for capital & interest.

The documents are quiet over the realisation fo the undertaking for now. But 30 July 1823 Herz Bloch, the old Parnas of Kirchen jewry, writes to the Oberamt Loerrach, to again stop new plans for a new synagogue since "only 28 years ago (1795) the new synagogue was built"

Even if not large enough, she is still large enough to contain the jewry.

In a petition of the Loerrach jews of 31 October 1801 to the Margrave for the cession of a centrally located plot in Loerrach for a new synagogue. the

Loerrach jews refer to the example of the congregation Kirchen which tho much smaller 'owns their own synagogue for some time'.

This 1795 built Betsaal apparently soon proved too small. As already reported efforts were made already 1822 or 1823 to enlarge the existing synagogue or to plan a new one. The successor of Parnas Herz Bloch, Hirsch Bigar, energetically fostered plans for a new building.

P.44 Plot-plan of the Synagogue (excerpt)

Herz Bloch was against this: "The present time is also not right for such an expensive undertaking...if the synagogue is too small it could cheaply, for perhaps 100 fl. be enlarged, which is always better than an unneccary expense of over 2,000 fl." After inspection by the district architect a new and solid synagogue building is recommended since the 'old locality' really is too small and enlarging the same would be difficult. On 12 August 1823 the 'Directorium des Dreysamkreises' (director of the Dreisam district -tr.-Dreisam is a river near Freiburg, to the north-tr.note.)authorised planning for 1) enlargement,2) new construction.

Only 1828 does planning for new construction mature. On 2 Febr.1828 Parnas Hirsch Bigar petitions the Bezirksamt to plan the synagogue in conjunction with a school building and a teachers apartment. In June 1828 a new petition reads: "The isr.congregation Kirchen opines that a solid building be erected, so that this building remains roomy enough for children & childrens children.

In order to come up with 1,100 fl.the congregation proposes a collection among the jewish congregations of the land. The reason given therefor was the poor economic situation in the own congregation. 1/3 are well off, 2/3 if not really poor still needy, so that they could spare little or nothing. The total cost of teh building was figured at 3,100 fl. The Directorium of the Dreysamkreis rejects the submitted design for a new synagogue, schoolhouse & teacher's quarters as beyond the finacial capacity of the isr.congregaiton.

The Bezirksamt is given the task to work out a less expensive plan that is more in accordance with the ability of the congregation.

P.45 - The new plan (see illus.) show a building that in it's exterior hardly differs from a stately house, and was similar to the Rabbi's house as planned for Duesseldorf.

The jewish congregation rejected this design with the reasoning that the savings ' the appearance of this churchly building would suffer..... . The reference to the 'churchly' example can be understood to mean that the synagogue

should have the same sacred and representative character as a church. On 7 Oct. 1828 the new plan for synagogue with additional buildings is estimated at 4,694.29 fl.. The synagogue is to be 12.10 m x 8.60 m. The project is sent for estimates to 50 builders. The winner was master carpenter Fingerlin at 4,656 fl.

Already 23 July 1829 Parnas Hirsch Bigar remarks that the new synagogue should be bigger than planned. He suggests a lengthening of 3-4 feet towards the morningside because then many more places could be won.

"Since we already spend a great deal on this building we would do better to sacrifice more in order to see this building built to our wishes". The provincial rabbinat Sulzburg, under Rabbi Abraham Weil, on 16 July 1829 refers to the Jewish religious law that is to be observed by the construction of a mikveh. According to this opinion Israelites may not submerge in bath the water of which is brought with a pump into a single tub. The tube must be built of several stones, and the water to fill it must flow into it directly from the earth.

The plans for the mikveh therefore had to be altered.

P.46 Plan for the Synagogue

1) Syn. entry	2) Kitchen w. pump
3) Stairs to Wom. loft	4) Bedroom
5) Livingroom	6) Stairs to Apt.
7) Abort (outhouse)	8) Empty
9) Corpse Washroom	10) Mikveh
11) Archive, Assembly & Schoolroom	

The Haltinger builder Fingerlin has difficulties with the complex. So on 23 Dec. 1830 he is threatened with the contract-penalty if the new building is not completed within four weeks.

Time was of the essence, for on 25 Febr. 1831 the building was to be dedicated, at 1 PM, by Rabbi Abraham Weil, for its intended use.

Already 1846 & 1860 serious damages and faults appeared. The Isr. teacher Lazarus Mannheim complained to the Bezirksamt against the Synagogenrat of Kirchen that his health was impaired living in the teacher's apartment due to defective windows. After Mannheim died 1863 his successor Israel Schorsch continues his complaints in 1864.

In 1871 the congregation thinks of selling the old synagogue of 1795, that had meanwhile become the poorhouse. The district rabbi of Sulzburg replied to the congregation in a letter in German, but written in cursive Hebrew letters.

P.47 The former synagogue of Kirchen with the Schoolhouse, Mikveh and the teachers apartment.

" Sulzburg, 20 Elul 5631 = 6 Sept. 1871

To the Synagogenrat Kirchen!

In reply to your letter of 14 Elul the sale of the old synagogue can be done under the observance of certain formalities. However since this building has for

many years been used as poorhouse it's sale offers no problems. The receipts therefor may be used for the purchase of another building for the same purpose. The poor have priority in the use of the building already, and cannot be denied them without providing replacement therefor. Since orphans and a widow also live in that house, it's sale becomes more questionable. We must observe the warning and threat in our holy scriptures 1 Moses 27 verse 21-23: You shall not trouble widows and orphans. If you trouble them they will cry out to me and I will hear their cry...etc....

Also it is not advisable to totally rely on the political congregation, and the performance might be sparse. In addition the affluence of the jews has with G'd's help increased substantially, in which I wish that the Eternal always helps you. Therefor the congregation is in a position to pay off it's remaining debts without withdrawing the roof from over the heads of the poor. Therefor it'll be best to discuss it with the political congregation. Also of importance is that the furnishings remain property for the jews and that the political congregation make no demands thereon.

Menachem Dreyfuss"

P.48 Letter in hebrew cursive writing of the Bezirkrabbiner. Next to the just described synagogue building stood the school building with 2 classrooms. In the upper story was the teacher's apartment and in the cellar the Mikveh.

Architecture and Style of the Synagogue.

The synagogue consists of a longish building with galleries on three sides and a niche in the eastern wall under an egyptian 'Aedikula' (?-tr). On the west facade are two low towers that are somewhat higher than the porch. These towers are topped by a low pyramidal roof. The porch opens to the west in a portal, the architrave of which is carried by two doric columns.

The outer decorations as well as the proportions of the building remind one of egyptian motives, particularly the squat towers. The synagogue shows a mixture of different styles. Against egyptian examples the windows are closed with roundings, the stories are separated by wide moldings- this too not found in egyptian architecture. In spite of going against style the effect was to mimic the large egyptian temples. Similar lay-outs to Kirchen and Karlsruhe can be found in the synagogue at Copenhagen built by Hetsch 1833. Here the two towers are slightly ahead of the wall but undoubtedly the same motif is intended as in Karlsruhe.

Conspicuous on the synagogues of Karlsruhe & Kirchen were the two pylons flanking the west facade. They point to egyptian models as shown in archeologic publications.

More clearly is the egyptian influence that can be traced to the temple in

Jerusalem. The synagogues in Eichstetten, 1829/30, Kirchen, 1831, Altona 1832, Copenhagen 1833, & Wuerzburg 1839/40, show not only close adherence to Egyptian architecture-especially the eastern wall with the Holy Ark - but follow reconstructions of the Temple of Solomon. The arks of the synagogues of Kirchen, Copenhagen & Wuerzburg consist of a light structure.

Up four steps one reached the porch carried by two columns. Over the portal was a Hebrew inscription from Ps. 118.20 (see P.50):

This is the Gate of the Lord into which the righteous may enter,
built in the year 1831 (after the small calendar).

P.50 The synagogue proper of Kirchen, destroyed 9 Nov. 1938.

Like most of the Ashkenazic synagogues built later than that of Kirchen also had a two-part women's gallery that, differing from the classic, was not fenced off. The east side of all Orthodox synagogues are toward Jerusalem, similar to the old churches that were also built to face east; there taking up the full height of the synagogue, was the Holy Ark, *aron ha kodesh*, in which the Thora Scrolls were stored. The outside trim of this Ark was dark-red marmorized wood, flanked by two columns. The curtain in front of the Ark, *parocet* was made of black cloth, decorated above with the star of David, *magen david*, below two lions hold a crown over a sign of the presence of G'd, the two Hebrew letters *דן*. The cantors' lectern, called *'tewa or amud'* and the *'almemor'*, the table for reading the Thora, stood in front of the *'aron ha kodesh'*. The eternal light, *ner tamid*, derived from Ex. 27.20 & Lev. 24.2, hung in a fixture in front of the Thora curtain. The two eight-branched candelabra (*), Chanukah candelabra, that reminded on the sanctification of the temple of Judas Maccabeus, and whose eight lights in the time of 8 days are lit, stood on the sides of the center of the main room. Their biblical basis is Ex. 25.31-45 & I Kings 7.49.

((*) Tr. respectfully differs. The candelabra shown are the classic 7-armed.

The Chanukah candelabra is used only during the eight days of Chanukah).

P.49 - Aerial view of Kirchen - 1932, Small fig. on right shows
synagogue in circle.

The walls, ceiling and the floor were entirely undecorated. Only with geometric ornaments, but not showing humans or animals, could these areas be decorated.

In front of the seats were box-like containers in which the prayerbooks and other ritual objects, like *Tallit*, *Tefillin*, etc. were kept.

To the three daily prayers on holidays/festivals after the morning prayer an additional prayer was added (*musaf*). The sexton (*Schamasch*) knocked on the wooden shutters with his wooden hammer or doors to call the congregation to worship. In this he was also called *'Schulklopper'* (school knocker-tr). In some congregations the death of a member was so notified.

The most festive moment of a Sabbath or holiday was taken from the Ark of

the Thora and putting them back. The Thora Scrolls themselves, were written by a 'sofer, a writer specially trained to observe specific rules, and are of parchment and rolled upon two wooden staves. In order not to touch the Scrolls by hand the reader uses a special pointer, a 'jad' (hand-tr) made of wood or a noble metal.

One of the Thora Scrolls was said to have been brought by the Dornacher Bloch family when they immigrated to Kirchen 1736. On high holidays sermons (deroshot) were held in synagogue. On the two highest holidays, the great Atonement Day - jom kippur, and the Jewish New Year - rosh ha shannah - a man suitable capable blew the 'shofar', a horn made from the horn of a ram.

(Tr.Note: The architectural description was found to be especially difficult to translate; Tr.apologizes for the mistakes)

Special rules were made for the worship service as well as the entering and leaving of the synagogue. The oldest known to me was made 1866:

The Synagogue Rules (1866)

Staatsarchiv Freiburg 361/615 - The synagogue rules - 1840 - 1877 - The synagogue rules for the isr.congregation Kirchen, signed 6 Nov.1866 by Harburger, parnas, Samuel Lieberles, Leopold Bloch, Herz Bloch.

"In order to establish proper dignity of worship and deportment we find ourselves occasioned to establish the following rules:

- 1.) The time for worship to begin is set by the Synagogenrat.
- 2.) Both immediately before and following worship, nor during same, may any functions take place either in the street or in the frontyard of the synagogue.
- 3.) Entry as well as leaving the synagogue is to be in a dignified manner. Specifically conduct during worship shall be dignified.
- 4.) Other than the cantor only those named as 'capable' shall lead the congregation in prayer on sabbath and festival days, as determined by the Sinagogenrat.
- 5.) There shall be no overly loud paraying & singing with the cantor.
- 6.) Chattering during worship is strictly prohibited.
- 7.) During the time the Thora is removed and returned to the Holy Ark nobody may leave the synagogue, emergencies excepted.
- 8.) No one may leave his place until the last Kaddish is recited.
- 9.) During prayer for his majesty, the emperor and his royal highness the Grand Duke all must rise from their seat.
- 10.) Children under 4 years of age may not participate in public worship; parents will be held responsible for the proper behavior of their children.
- 11.) Violations of these rules will be punished by the Sinagogenrat with fines in money, from 6 Kreuzer to 2 Gulden.

P.52 Interior of Synagogue at Loerrach, built 1809

In the neighboring j.congregation at Loerrach a synagogue rule was decreed that was much more drastic. Bloch reports on it's origination:

The differences and all the hate that collected and exploded show that in the j.congregation Loerrach no good spirit reigned. The documents tell of much fighting and quarrelling and neither the House of G'd nor worship services were respected, when the 'fighting cocks' exploded. Typical for the then atmosphere is a fight that occurred 19 December 1851 at morning prayer, between Abraham Wilstaetter & Lazarus Weil because of the recitation of the Kaddish, and the dramatic course of which we will follow from documents of the Bezirksamt: A.Wilstaetter before the sinagogenrat: ' On the 19th instant I left my place in the synagogue in order to recite kaddish for my recently deceased mother. As Im went to the Holy Ark, where the prayer is recited, I asked Lazarus Weil if he got fatter from reciting the prayer that was rightfully my place to do. On this he replied, it's not worth the effort to answer me as a 'Vollzapf' (local colloq.- means full of...-tr), and attacked me with hsi chair without my resisting him. In this attack he was helped by his brother Benjamin and Nathan Dornacher, threw me on the floor, tore my tefillin and tallis. Witnesses: Bernhard Nordmann & Nathan Reutlinger.

Deposition of Benjamin & Lazarus Weil:

A.Wilstaetter left his place before the proper prayer could be recited, came to our place, called us thief because I recited the named prayer, to which he claims right but which I doubt. I told him to go from our places and suggested to fight it out outside the synagogue. he didn't leave after repeated requests. I then moved my chair to the side in order to show him, A.W., on the basis of a list showing those entitled to recite the prayer, that I was entitled to recite that prayer for my mother. Moving the chair may have slightly bumped against him. In any case he hit me on the eye with his his hand. In order to prevent further maltreatment my brother came to my assistance. Because of this the chair may have fallen over and with it A.W. because he was drunk. Witnesses: Gessau Blum & Nathan Dornacher.

I won't mention the shameful impression this sort of scandal must have made to the Bezirksamt. What's bad is that the authorities have to be annoyed with this sort of fights, so that the Oberamtmann felt compelled to write to the Bezirksrabbiner:

29 Dec.1851. In recent time several disturbances occurred during worship in the local synagogue, generally over jealousy over the right to lead prayer. We are often overrun daily with such complaints. When these disagreements concern only the interior rite as such we do not feel justified nor obliged to act.

But when such a scandal erupts into fisticuffs or damages the public peace and quiet and order we must, aside from the particular applicable laws, from the point of view of public order take strict actions. We have already asked several isr.congregation members quietly and peacefully to refrain from such acts but in vain. We are tired of this matter and will proceed with all means. But before this we shall try to tread the way of kindness and forward to you these documents that concern the mildest act, so that you take the proper measures within your competence, generally as well as in the present case. After proper rules are in place, which shall include the publication of this letter, we request return of the documents and reserve further action.

s/Bezirksamt, Winter.

P.53 Gasthaus zur Linde, 'Judenwirtschaft' (jews inn-tr) until turn of century
 P.54 Jakob Bloch, high on a horse

The Jewish congregation of Kirchen until it's end belonged to the conservative, traditionally religious, orthodox congregations. Liberalism could only spread in the city congregations in Baden by the end of the century. The smaller, therefore homogenous, traditional Landgemeinden were and remained orthodox, in spite of all reform suggestions of the Oberrat (der Israeliten-tr) in Karlsruhe. (Tr.Note: The above is quite true as I remember it, but we did consider us 'liberal', and not 'orthodox' - those in practice quite orthodox)

Daily life went on according to the strict ritual rules. To these 'Way Signs' that I wish to name the daily religious requirements of a religious Jew, the daily prayers, other matters had to be observed such as keeping apart clean and unclean in the dietary laws and in contact with people & animals.

Many family fathers travelled as 'Handelsmaenner' (traders-tr) in the nearer or further vicinity with their wares and their cattle. It cannot have been easy for these since they were on the road several days, to eat kosher on these trips. There weren't many Jewish inns, so one had to cook for oneself. In Kirchen there was a 'Judenwirtschaft 'Zur Linde' (Lindentree-tr). The first innkeeper was Samuel Lieberles (129.0). It remained as a Jews inn until turn of the century.

The Sabbath was and is the focal point of the life of a Jew. "It is required for the life of the individual Jew in each week to not work a day...."

L.D.Kahn writes of the Sabbath as it was celebrated in Sulzburg, but which must apply equally to Kirchen (Tr.Note-and elsewhere with local variations).Friday evening was a happy family festival. With the workday clothes the workday was put aside with all its troubles & hassles, one changed to a 'holiday person'. The big room in the house was festive, the pinefloor freshly scrubbed and sprinkled with sand that it squeaked. The tile stove gave off comfortable heat in winter.

The festive meal, following the various blessings, consisted in most jewish families of noodlesoup, cold & sharp fish (sabbath as foretaste of messianic time, that begins when Leviathan, king of the fish is killed), soupmeat with side dishes, punch & cake....in this world of yesterday friday evening and sabbath were properly celebrated.

The 'Jew Laws' after 1809

On 4 May 1812 the old constitutional edict of 1809 was supplemented by a new edict that newly regulated the 'Schutzbuerger' status of the jews. Schutzbuergerrecht was now only available to one who had specific controllable assets or who makes his living with a properly learned occupation, who properly knew german and had learned reading, writing & arithmetic. Who supported himself by 'Nothandel' was excluded from all Schutz and other civil rights.

In those town where no jews had lived up to now they could only be allowed to settle with the consent of the community. Here like in the old jewish settlements they were excluded from the community administration, say excluded from voting at local elections. The Grand Duke reserved to himself the right to give the 'Ortsbuergerrecht' (town citizenship-tr) to particularly highly respected jews.

Of the const.edict of 1809 that tried to provide justice to jews in a number of serious problems was made a reactionary police law that would have well fitted into the 18th century. In April 1818 the new and long overdue constitution literally had to be wrung from the ill Grand Duke Karl Ludwig Friedrich (1786-1818). The aroused nobility, the dissatisfied citizenry and the forward looking officials were the main actors of this 'coup d'etat from within'. But the joy of the jews for the sought-after civil equality was too early. So it said: 'The civil rights of all Badener are equal in every way....'but in the next sentence followed:...where the constitution finds an exception namely & specifically.' And it found. The idea of the christian state flourished. The eligibilty of the delegates was limited to 'believers' of the three christian confessions, who also had to be local citizen (Ortsbuerger).

Until 1830 the Oberrat and the liberal members of the 2nd.chamber tried for a change in par.12 of the 'Gemeindeverfassung' (community const.-tr) that made jews into a class of 'state owned serfs'.

The old reaction, in spite of the liberal ideas of minister vonBoeckh (1777-1855) and von Winter (1778 - 1838), carried on and followed exactly the tenets set down by Metternich at Vienna. The press was suppressed, the freedom of the universities to teach was limited by adhering to the Karlsbader decisions, and was both support & motor for the holy alliance. At the Bundestag in Frankfurt the delegate from Baden Friedrich v.Blittersdorf (1792-1861) in reply to questions

of the other governments advised that a jews law as given and practiced in Baden be warned against most strongly. The then interior minister of Baden v. Berkheim in 1828 reported on his experience of the so-called liberal jew laws: The mild concern with which one proceeded under the edict of 1809 did not have the desired success. They have not become like the christian population either morally nor intellectually by any means. The great majority of jews as before practiced their sharp practices and never considered themselves citizens. They rather felt themselves as a branch of the jewish people dispersed all over the world. Also they chose only such occupations that did not require physical work, i.e. tailor or shoemaker, etc. and those that combine with trading business such as butcher or soapmaker. Altogether jews are not capable for a serious naturalisation as long as they stuck to their own language, religion & nationality.

When in 1830 Leopold (1790-1852) followed his deceased stepbrother Ludwig I (1763-1830) to the throne of the Grand Duke of Baden a more liberal time seemed to come to Baden. On one part this was due to the personality of the new prince who was considered generous, friendly towards the common man, a friend of the constitution. His predecessor Ludwig I, contrasting, was sharp, distrustful, and a slave of his favorites and mistresses, and built a strong police state.

On the other hand the 1830 revolution at Paris affected Baden. In the second chamber the demands for freedom of the press became more and more stormy, and the discontinuance of the socage and tithe was demenaded. In this freer climate the the Oberrat d.Isr.renewed his requests for fyll equality of the jews both in the communities and state offices. But on 3 June 1838 the 2nd chamber decided by a plurality vote that a equality fo jewish inhabitants with the christians, for full political rights could not yet take place. In the law " About the rights of the local citizen (Gemeindebuerger) and the aquisition of citizenship" that removed the old differences between Schutz and other citizens the Israelites were excluded as the only part of the population. What an odd irony: The first conservative chamber was ready to remove this last hurdle of the jews to full emancipation, the most liberal of all Landtage (state parliament-tr) that Baden had in it's historyrefused. This odd liberalism that established itself in Baden with the accession of Leopold, and particularly in the persons of Prof. C.v.Rotteck (1775-1868) & the church councillor (Kirchenrat) H.E.G.Paulus became an example of liberalism for Germany.

Welcker formulated the refusal of the jewish equalisation demands as follows: Christianity does more to shape than a religion to shape the proper direction of will on the earth, the proper basic principle or the life-force and

not the despotic & theocratic constitution, but that of the free 'Rechtsstaat' (state of laws-tr) , the precedence of the proven free belief of conscience or the free morality. (Tr.Note: Turgid language of the period). This is the effect of the rationalism of the 18th century that combined the moral freedom of the individual and the civil freedom of all with the theology of nationalistic protestantism, and that sought the fusion of all life with christian ideology.

This resulted in an apparently insoluble difference between christian and jewish nationality, that in a inquiry fo the 2. chamber to a still to be installed synod found it's expression. This inquiry contained the suggestion that the jews of Baden were to abolish all the rules of rest & food, circumcision, and their 'national' tongue. Ten years after this the jews can be admitted fully into the fabric of the state without limitation, if then approved. The Oberrat declared in this decisive situation in superior fashion that with religious views no games can be played.

A petition signed by 1,315 jews of the whole country in 1846 demanded the full equalisation of all jews as well as the voiding of the still existing exceptions in community laws. On 21 August 1846 the 2.Baden chamber, newly elected, after six denials, voted the acceptance of the petition. However it didn't become law for a long time.

Following the upswing of the early thirties conditions followed that were common ubder Ludwig. The old depressing athmosphere remained that would find expression in the unrests of 1848.

Situation in Kirchen:

1839 the application for Schutzbuerkertum was denied to Abraham Moses: Since Abraham Moses follows a trade listed as Nothandel under par.19 of the edict of 13 Jan.1809, but Nothandel is not acceptable as a trade with which a family can be supported, that the applicant... not possess the lawfully required characteristics... therefor petition as Schutzbuerger is denied. With similar reasonings acceptance of several persons was denied in the years 1841 7 later. How prepared jews of Kirchen were to participate in communal affairs is proven by the following letter, composed by the Synagogenrat and addressed to the Gemeinderat Kirchen:

The local Israelites are not required in case of a fire in this village to assist in the dousing of same fire. They have always done this of free will, and yet were always ready to aid in this matter and spared no effort. Meanwhile we always felt that it woul;d be better when one is not forced to do certain things and be unable to avoid it, then when done of free will. Our petition is to the Bezirksamt, to so delegate the local jews as the christians are by the dousing of a fire but is not yet the case with the jews.

More openness and social engagement on the part of it's citizens can hardly be wished by any state or community of it's citizens. Nevertheless the most elementary civil right was repeatedly refused, in the community to be on a legal par with the christian neighbors. As we now approach 1848 we touch an important epoch for the history of Baden and the jews. For Kirchen I wish to detail the situation of the jewish population of Kirchen in 1848 and the immigration and emigration tendencies of this period, until the events of 1848 affect the Judengemeinden of the Markgraeflerland. 1848 the j.congregation Kirchen had 147 souls; equal to 14.45% of the total population of 1,017. Of these 53.5% were men & 46.5% women. 59.5% of the J.congr.were under 30 years of age. Only 4.14% were over 60. Statistically the average family of Kirchen jews was of 4.77 heads. The occupational structure was as follows: 30% of all jews were in trade or commerce. 9.38% were 'private' or such without specific training for a trade or occupation. 2.34% worked as laborers. The children and school-children = 35.16%, the hosuewives = 16% of the jewish population. Therefor 61% were not of the truly producing and working part of the population. Between 1848 & 1864 18 persons immigrated. This immigration was not generally made attractive due to economic or occupational reasons. Already the high proportion of women (2/3) of all immigrants proves that this concerns people willing to marry. The areas from where these immigrants came reached from Endingen, Canton Aargau with 7, by way of the alsation congregations Hegenheim & Sierenz, from whence came 1 each, to the j.congregation in Baden: Sulzburg, Muellheim, Kippenheim, Ihringen, Breisach, Emmendingen, Altdorf, Friesenheim & Gailingen. In this period 15 people emigrated per documentation.

The years 1848/49

Prehistory: In France a new revolution broke out Febr.1848 the removed the last remains of the so-called citizen-monarchy. The spark jumped over to Germany. Big things were involved: removal of press censorship, unified laws, the creation of a central german government run by elected representatives of the people. This awakening was strengthened, under the colors black-red-gold, by a desire for a free constitution as well as a famine, the first in 30 years. The Baden administration tried to alleviate it by the production of so-called 'Mischbrot' (mixed bread-tr), a mass baled of ground beets and other substances. But the hungry who even in better times were the underpriviledged cried after those responsible for the catastrophe, the owners. There were owners galore, but the might of the aristocracy and the upper classes was too great, so they held them free of blame but went after those who were felt to have might but actually often had no more than the underpriviledged, the jews.

So began the unrests in Baden of March 1848 with attacks against the jews. In Muellheim there were riots on 4/5 March 1848 against the jewish congregation. The Freiburger Zeitung reported:...the jews aren't suitable for our enlightened times...so in Muellheim a wagon full of heavy stones was taken from one end of the city to the other with which the front doors and the houses of the jews were bombarded. When a jew, frightened by the preparations asked a christian neighbor with whom he was friendly what was going, he was told: Nothing much, they're only going to break the doors and windows, then they'll go again.

In neighboring alsation villages similar scenes took place. Infected the general revolutionary spirit of the time, beginning March 1848 the peasants of Upper Alsace vented their spleen against the jews. These fled in masses to the swiss border congregations.

In Norther Baden, particualrly the manors of the Odenwald, where the need was greatest, peasants plundered the jewish settlements whose inhabitants were least able to defend themselves. Notes and mortgages were demanded back, their property distributed, and not infrequently the houses set afire. The jews, together with their actual opponents, the manor owners of the first chamber of the Baden government, the first victims of the revolution. So they were, if even to a sdmall degree, victims and adherents of the revolt. Two-facedness here and there in teh aims of the revolution: One face, that of the idealists, the educated and upper classes, was represented in the Paulskirche in Frankfurt. This group wanted to change the present, dark police state to a enlightened, economically and politically free future. Then the face of the 'volk', hemmed in by decess, laws, taxes and assessments, depressed by prejudice and superstition, and tortured by hunger and want.

What was the political view of the jewish population?

It can be stated with assurance that the jews as a totality were neither able nor willing to participate in political life during the 'Vormaerz' (early March-tr). It appears that before the 1848 revolution only a small proprtion had any interest in politics. This was due not only that they awaited their full emancipation - still - and the only slowly proceeding improvement in their economic, social & spiritual structure.

As for the economic view as well as the intellectual view of the jews befoer 1848, it must be said that they largely held to the traditional ways of jewish life. The question of emancipation and the already, in certain circles begun reform of Judaism, found little appeal with the majority of the jewish population. For that reason a miniscule number were prepared to apticipate in political life. So they jews became divided in two directions:

a) The Orthodox who in the existing authoritarian state saw the expression of

a sensible set of laws, an unchangeable world order based equally on right and morality, for 'they don't defy, they feel the right, the wisdom, the morality of their fellow man, but above all the protection of the Highest.'

This majority of the orthodox jews viewed the fealty to the rulers from a religious view and the authority set up to be followed as a profane duty.

b) Reform judaism had already distanced itself largely, but aside from the large congregations of Mannheim & Karlsruhe, remained a minority in Baden.

The theoretically & politically simplest resolution of this difference was also the most difficult: Total absorpition in 'Deutschtum' (Germanism-tr). But the will to abolish the christian corporate state and administration was espoused by most politically active jews and became the basis between them and the german liberals. The jews seeking equality saw in the principles of the christian & corporate state the main hindrance to full integration into german life, and therefor the thought of total equality & freedom was of primary importance. We read of this combination in a letter of Leopold Zunz of 1833: "The cause of teh jews triumphs in the same measure and also in the same epoch as that of the general liberation".

Gabriel Riesser, the great fighter for jewish emancipation and advocate of teh german jews did not see judaism & germanism as opposing lifestyles. According to him they should complement each other like father & mother in the life of a child. This view, that only considers the generally religious element, he propounded in a slogan that repeatedly appears in his writings: "A father in the heights, a mother we have, God, the father of all, our mother Germany".
The Situation of Jew-Laws 1848

Febr.1848 delegate L. Brentano (1813-1891) of the second chamber of the Baden parliament made a petition for " the immediate provision of jews into the full benefits of all civil rights". In the session of 2.March 1848 the second chamber decided, based on a report of delegate Welcker, to request the administration to explain "that a citizen of the state (Staatsbuerger) belonging to a particular religion be eliminated, and the parliaments be supplied with a proposed law".

The Grand Duke declared on 4 March that he would discuss the important and contemporary wishes with the chief of the Interior Ministry, Staatsrat Bekk, the president of the chamber, Mittermaier, and then make a satisfactory reply. Under the pressure of events it occurred on the same day, and the letter says:...

...The administration is ready to rprovide parliament with proposed laws in tne indicated direction, concerning the deletion of political rights of religion...

...Highest Himself (his royal highness the Grand Duke) hopes that the second chamber appreciating this, to continue in this upsetting time to quiet the

populations demands so that the people, confident of his R.Highness and his

government, remember that under lawful order alone can liberty thrive. and will hold down any opposiiton. Herewith to light the way in this time will foster Baden's good fortune and allow it to reach it's greatest glory.

In the session of 16 March Staatsrat Bekk at the request of the State ministry gave the 2nd.chamber a proposed law with the following content: Art.1: The 1st art. fo par.9 of the constitution receives the following structure: All citizens (Staatsbuerger) without regard to religion have the same right to all civil and military posts as well as church offices".

Art.2: Par.19 of the constitution receives the following construction:"The political rights of all religions are equal".

Art.3: Par.37.1 of the constitution is voided. This voided law read as follows: "To be named delegate.... can be anyone belonging to one of the three christian religions.....".

This revision concerned only the 'staatsbuergerliche' (state citizen-tr) rights but not the 'Gemeindebuergerliche' (community citizen-tr) emancipation of the jews, since '... a law over the communal emancipation/equality needs careful thought and consideration of the individual interests of the communities and their christian inhabitants, if at least for the moment great injustices and injuries are to avoided, that could only increase the suspicion and the hatred against the Israelites and so worsen their situation instead of bettering it'. (Commission report of delegate Zittel). On 13 May the 2nd chamber passed the law with one contrary vote.

The first chamber voted only 14 to 4 for the new law. Domkapitular(canon-tr) v. Hirscher commented:...that a christian people, without difference or concern for their religion shall trust the laws and the administration is unreasonable and goes against the innermost feelings against whom this is aimed, who on the basis of his christianity feels himself higher, and so not to have the lower jews or heathen as giver of laws and judges.....Nevertheless the commission does not speak against the new law because it is believed that in time this will come out. Because of this I had to mention the serious considerations and reservations re the new law.

As per the law of the Frankfurt National Assembly of the German People of 27 Dec.1848, the new law of 17 Febr.1849 was passed opening the way for jews to the national representation (Volksvertretung). The State ministry decided to void par.13 of the Gemeindeordnung (communal laws-tr) of 1831 that up to now excluded jews from the buergermaster and town council offices.

The Revolution Of 1848

"With deepest pain shared by all true friends of free people and the fatherland we receive news that the days which were to have released our people from the pressure of bondage of decades, even centuries, were to be desecrated by blind destructive mania and the endangerment of the persons and property of our fellow citizens of mosaic belief, that the glowing light of freedom shall be sullied because of shameful excesses. Fellow citizens! It is the holy duty of each honorable man who doesn't play with the word liberty....to go against such cruel beginnings. Only servants of the reaction or misled people will lend a hand to persecution of jews, that they never could in a free country, but certainly could under despotism".

After these plain words of Hecker of 8 March 1848 one would actually assume that the jews of the congregations of Baden would volunteer enmasse to the citizen soldiers of Struve, Blind or the German Legion of Herwegh. None of the groups represented in the Baden Landtag had so plainly spoken for the jews. But when in Frankfurt enough talking was done and nothing achieved, hecker in April 1848 went to the Seekreis and organized his volunteer troops (Freischaerler) with which he moved to the Markgraeflerland between 18 & 20 April, there was hardly a jew among them. The great majority of jews followed the striving for a united Germany, in which they too were to have the Ortsbuergerrecht, with good will, but at the same time stood against a politics of force. Law and order remained the slogan during the revolution too. they joined the civic organizations and the militia (Buergerwehr), and participated in actions in order to legally fight the discriminating laws. On the other hand messianic believers in the first months of 1848 to see a messianic manifestation, that the messianic age was at hand. Leopold Zunz opined that the worlds justice for the oppressors was at hand and the day of the Lord had come. " Not long, and Messias, for whom prayers were said for millenia, has appeared, and our fatherland is given us: But the Messia is freedom, our fatherland Germany."

This revolutionary messianism showed two results: 1) Full legal acceptance of Judaism (as a religion or 'Konfession') and 2) conscious breaking away from tribal ties. Even as in over 22 places in Baden there were excesses against jews, there was hardly a reaction by the jews to these pogroms.

P.61) Friedrich Rottra, 1821 - 1903

In Kirchen as in surrounding villages a militia (Buergerwehr) was formed in the early March days. That this was not only to replace police and guarantee

Order and quiet is evident from the comments of it's captain, Freidrich Rottra. Rottra, who agreed with the ideas and aims fo March 1848, but didn't always agree with their execution during the revolutionary occurrences, was active among the volunteers in fighting against the military of Baden and Wuerttemberg, as well as that of Prussia & Hessen, in the Markgraeflerland.

He wore his 'Buergerwehr-Kaeppe' (militia cap-tr), a black oilcloth cap with carmine-red band below and a german cocarde in front, proudly, and when a peasant from Liel remarked he'd be happy when all militias were shot dead, he hit him in the face with a riding whip, never engaged in pointless politics. His militia was totally enthused by the March happenings and in another form of uprising would have been totally at one with the Baden military and the retention of the monarchy. This Buergerwehr counting 60 men had among it's members several jews of Kirchen: Daniel Levi, Veist Bigar (5.0), Marx Bloch (32.4), Lazarus Bloch (47.0) Lazarus Bigar (7.0) Veist Bloch, Bernhard Lieberles (130.0) Alexander Bloch (32.3), Herz Bloch (53.0).

P.62) Battle on the Scheideck near Kandern, 20 April 1848

After the battle at the Scheideck on 20 April, in which General von Gagern was shot by the militia, but the latter fled after being attacked by hessian troops, changed the enthuthiasm in Kirchen. Rottra spoke.... of the indifference that that reigns among the land population...., and did not consider participation in Heckers corps advisable.

On 23 September 1848 Struve and his helpers recruited the militias of the villages of the Markgraeflerland. Rottra reported: "The other morning 200 men from Inzlingen and vicinity under 'General' Spehn marched into the village, ... he had the Kirchen militia assemble, ca.60 men, and named me captain. I thanked him but did not accept the position".

The March went to Freiburg, but already on 24 Sept. found a bloody end at Staufen. But Rottra reported first: The leader of a squad in our platoon, an old soldier, but a jew, stopped at a bend of the road and commanded: right face, to Sulzburg! and with his whole troop ran to Sulzburg thru the woods. The following battle went terribly for the militia. Totally disorganized, and weakened by both the poor arms and the poor leadership, everyone who could fled as quickly as possible for home. About the fighting spirit of the Kirchen jews Rottra mentions nothing. In fact the jews were not particularly inspired with the aims of the revolution.

The jews who were distinguished in the revolution were of the more cultured class or of the slowly forming proletariat of the large cities. In any case they were not from the majority of the jewish population, the small cities and the Landgemeinden.

Teh retention of law & order, for which the few participating jews repeatedly called is typical of the deepest inner sensibility of this broad jewish class. They were passively waiting the revolution's course.

P.63) Departure of the Republicans from Loerrach to the North.

Thus is the remark of jews to be understood: The jews have always and in all countries sought to achieve the long denied equality of rights...only through legal means and the sense of justice of the regimes and the princes, never and nowhere by means of force. The jews were always amongst the most loyal subjects of the Grand Duke and the fatherland.

A few orthodox congregaitons in Baden declared April 1848 that they would renounce all political rights in order to avoid unrest that could only endanger people and possessions.

Even tho the majority of the jews remained reserved towards the revolution but that did not mean that their position was due to religously conservative views of things. It is to be assumed that until the occurrences of March 1848 many jews hoped for a victory of freedoms. But as the hope for a victory passed and the reaction was succeeding, this hope succumbed noticeably, and end of 1848 and early 1849 became a purely spectators view of affairs. Generally one was prepared to forgo revolutionary hopes as economic difficulties and other reactionary repressions took hold.

What was now the reason for the loyalistic passive position of the jewish Population? In addition to the desire for law & order, that was shared with most politicians, remained the fear of anti-jewish disorders with teh outbreak of the revolution. Particularly in the small Landgemeinden the revolutionary happenings were cheered by the local populace in the streets while the jews fearfully locked themselves in their houses. Also it was asumed that equality would produce a strong anti-jewish feeling in the country towns. This unfriendly position of the country people vs. the jews had it's basis in economic competition-thinking. So the craftsmen and small business people were less concerned with the political emancipation of the jews than with competitive equality. With the worry about economic security an additional fear was reenforced that accompanied the revolution: The fear of communism, however one understood this. The first fear of communism appeared early June 1848 when news of the street fighting in Paris reached our land. It's peal came during the september fighting, and again in May 1849 during the peoples rebellion in Baden.

The fear of the expected reactionary aftermath of the revolution caused a programmatic reaction of the jewish population, which doubtless explains also why the protests of the jews were not more pronounced when the reaction caused the equalitisation of the jews to be cast in doubt.

This previously mentioned change of opinion is expressed in the local Kirchen circumstances particularly in the election results to the German parliament 1848 and the Landtag (Baden Parliamt.-tr) 1850. The complete lists of voters listing whom they voted for prove the aforementioned development.

The Election of 1848

After the March rebellion elections were held for the 2nd. chamber of the Baden Landtag. Kirchen with 996 inhabitants had to choose 2 delegates. There were a total of 180 men who were older than 25, among them 25 Jews, 13.9%, of the voters eligible. The portion of Jews of the total population was 14.2 %.

Evaluation of Election Results

The voting of the Jews of Kirchen hardly differs from that of all eligible voters. So Friedrich Rottra is elected 'Wahlmann' (delegate, elector-tr) just about equally by the Christians (42 %) and the Jews (46 %). Rottra, who can be considered a moderate republican, supported the goals of the 1848 revolution particularly in the matter of freedom of the press, the unification of all of Germany under the colors black-red-gold, the abolition of the police and gendarmerie regime of v. Blittersdorf. Of course he did not see his way in that chosen by Struve & Hecker. Judging by these election results and the political position of the voters, particularly that of the voting Jews, one can at least see a striving toward the main aims of the ongoing revolution and an aversion of the current police and informer regime. Of course one may never forget that in towns of this size people were elected, with political aims secondary.

The election of Johann Herter produced differing results. He was elected by a total of 16% of voters, but only 8% of the Jews. If he as Bürgermeister from 1842-1845 lost the Jewish sympathy cannot be ascertained. However the third-placed J.G. Mueller received 15% of the total vote, 20% of the Jews. Mueller replaced Herter as Bürgermeister until 1848. The he assumed Rottra's post as Amtsschreiber (Town Clerk-tr).

The 1850 Election to the Landtag

F. Rottra and J.G. Mueller, favored by the Jews still in 1848, received none of their votes, whereas the then un-elected G.F. Schmidt now received 9 of the total 17 Jewish votes, roughly 53%. J.F. Schmutz who in 1848 received only 4% of the Jewish vote now got 30% this election.

A plain reversal of the voters will is noticeable after the failed revolution of 1848 and the reappearance of the reactionary forces in Baden at this election.

The Income Condition of the Kirchen Jews 1848 - 1850

A side result of this study of the voting documents is the insight given to the income situation of the Jews 1848 - 1850. 1849 the 189 taxpayers paid to the community of Kirchen 1,775.47 fl. in taxes. That equals 9.55 fl. per man.

The 27 jews of the community altogether paid 167.08 fl. taxes, or 6.19 fl. per man. The jews paid 9.4% of the total community taxes, and comprised 14.5% of the population. At this time they were still not economically on a par with the rest of the population.

1850 the following holds true: the total tax income of the civil community Kirchen was 2,490 fl. (261 tax payers) = 9.54 fl. per head (this includes the taxpayers of the community Eimeldingen). The 26 jews entitled to vote paid a total tax of 217.74 fl = 8.37 per man. Therefor the jews raised their taxable income over 26 % in two years.

The reason for this increase may be due to, for the Kirchen jews politically stable but reactionary situation of the Grand Duchy Baden, that fostered economic comfort.

The eligible voters of 1850 were divided in three groups that were again regrouped depending taxable income. The first group consisted of 22 voters with an average tax liability of 38.28 fl. per man. Among them was one jew whose tax was 21.16 fl. This is 4.5% of the total group.

In the second group are 64 voters averaging 12.99 fl. tax liability. 9 jews were among these with an average tax of 12.9 fl. The jews were 14% of the group. The third group consisted of the majority of eligible voters, 175 @ 4.67 fl. per head, whereas the 16 jews among them paid 5.01 fl., 9.1% of the group.

The Unrests of 1849

Even tho Baden recognized the Frankfurt constitution on May 11, 1849 the troops in the federal fortress of Rastatt mutinied. On 14 May the Grand Duke fled to Alsace, then to Mainz. The revolutionary committee seized power and was replaced on 1 June by the provisional administration under L. Brentano, A. Goegg, & F. Sigel. They were recognized without disturbance and held elections for a constitutional commission. The Grand Ducal administration from Mainz asked for help from the Reich authority in Frankfurt, and then directly from Prussia for military aid. Efringen & Kirchen played entirely different roles by this people's uprising in Badne, that was more nearly a military revolt. Efringen was named as the principal seat of the rebels that practiced terrorism in the near vicinity. There the irregulars met on the eve of the battle of Riedlingen (24 June '49) against the approaching 'foreign' troops. In Efringen the members of the revolutionary parties met from all nearby towns and demanded that the loyal troops join the revolutionary army. People like the teacher Duschilio openly espoused the peoples group and it's revolutionary goals, as did the engineer Fischer who had already fought 1848 and celebrated when it became known that the Prince of Prussia had been taken prisoner by the revolutionary army.

After the uprisings in the Markgraeflerland were quelled a grave-like stillness reigned. The individual communities were now taxed according to their loyalty by Oberamtsmann Exter at Loerrach. Most of the communities in the Loerrach Bezirk (district-tr) had been ill disposed and risen up, among them Loerrach, Steinen, Huesingen, Inzlingen, Weil, also Efringen. In the latter the first revolutionary 'Volksverein' was formed.

Kirchen was listed among the loyal communities because of hewing to the constitution. However this judgement is not totally comprehensible, since at this time men lived and acted there against whom prosecutions were instituted.

Parson Friedrich Heinrich Lammert, born Mannheim, at Kirchen 1845 - 1851, openly asked for allegiance to the provisional regime and in the closing prayer didn't mention the Grand Duke but the prov.administration. Notary Heinrich Rupp, who had already fled 1848, was among those. He actively participated at the Struve putsch, fled after it's overthrow to foreign parts, and 1851 was sentenced to 6 years prison in absentia.

On the other hand there is also proof that Kirchen followed the good and loyal path. So in July 1849 the house of the former Sonnenwirt Buergin was encircled by the militia because the second son of Buergin refused to join the provisional revolutionary army. The community of Kirchen decided: In view of the great political importance of our time...extraordinary means are needed to keep public order and safety.... We therefore ask that the citizens form a provisional militia...in the belief that the citizens will do their civic duty without fail, under the following orders: The Buergerwache (citizen watch-tr) is to consist of 90 people and each 15 constitute a watch that is to be on duty a night. This Buergerwache shall be militarily trained.....

This Buergerwehr, that also found the support of the Jews, had among its units the following Jews: Veit Bloch, Suessmann Lieberles, Alexander Bloch, Bernhard Lieberles, Lazarus Bloch, Alexander Bloch, Herz Bloch, Marx Bloch, Lazarus Bigar. The Jews of Kirchen appear to have been more enthused with the constitutional government than to support Struve and Hecker in 1848. In fact here appears the fact that in the small Landgemeinden the Jews preferred the illegal separation of the current regime than to realize a sudden change in their situation thru revolutionary means.

The decisions of the Frankfurt National Assembly, particularly the Reichs constitution concerning the civil - state & local - rights without consideration of religion were recognized by Baden but generally disregarded.

On 29 August 1849 the rabbinate at Sulzburg decreed: Re this years synagogue celebration of his royal highness' the Grand Duke's birthday, thanks are to be given for his return by the grace of G'd and the restitution of the legal order in this country. (Tr.Note: I cannot translate the mellifousity of the german).

A really liberal era began in Baden with Grand Duke Friedrich I (1856 - 1907) giving rise to the appellation 'liberal example country'. The law sponsored by August Lamey (1816-1896) on 20 Jan.1861 re the civil equality fo the israelites gave the jews of Baden full equality in all rights with all other citizens after 53 years of experimentation with useless laws. Since 1862 no Landtag in Baden had to concern itself with the civil rights of jews. Geheimrat Lamey argued at the final vote, which passed with only three against, "A russian or some other foreigner is routinely accepted as citizen, and with all rights, including the right to common land. The jew is excluded only because of his religion, and that must be stopped. The troubles will return even if the passage of the law is delayed."

However unrests broke out in the larger jewish communities of Baden. In the 'Karlsruher Anzeiger' of 21 Febr.1862: In our Amtsbezirk (Loerrach) people are very upset against the emancipation of the jews. In Sulzburg this resulted in windows being broken at jewish homes in the past nights. In order to prevent similar occurrences the Gendarmerie at Muellheim was ordered to Sulzburg for tonight. The people still don't feel the jews should be equal for the old reasons and is of the opinion they are to self-emancipate themselves morally first. Such unfortunate demonstrations are to be expected.

The years about 1862 brought the highest population numbers of jews living in Baden in it's history. In the Markgraeflerland the development was somewhat different. The two largest congregations, Muellheim & sulzburg in 1864 had 422 resp. 412 jews, the highest number, and by the next census, 1875, are down by 79, resp.99 persons. Kirchen & Loerrach's jewish population increased by 1873 from 1864 from 174 to 192, resp. 191 to 248.

The reason for this somewhat odd development curve is to be found in the nearness of the city of Freiburg to Muellheim & Sulzburg, that only with the full emancipation really opened it's city gates to jews, and immediately became a heavy drain on the Landjuden from there. The similiary to Freiburg was Basel for the upper Markgraeflerland, but that only because of heavy intrervention by the jews fo southern Baden to the Grand Ducal administration, 1864, as the jews had gotten teh free right to settle, equally to the three christian denominations, and so somewhat later became a magnet to jews from Loerrach & Kirchen.

In 1864 only three jews emigrated from Kirchen to Basel, whereas from 1865 to 1899 18 did so.

In 1864 the population statistic for the jewish congregation Kirchen was:
Of the 174 members 56 % were men, 44% women. 56% were under 30, 32% between 30 & 60, 12% over 60.

Occupationally there was change since 1848, in the greater number of business people or traders, from 27% (1848) to 37% (1864). Remains almost constant was the percentage of those living on private means (Privatier) or who made their living without actually having had any training. The number of school children went down from 35 % to 30%. But the number of non-producing and not working remained at about 60% as in 1848.

Flight From The Land And Beginning Decline (1864 - 1932)

The time from 1862 to the mid 70s is often regarded as the second liberal era in Baden. The theoretical equality of the jews was slowly coming into practice. In this time the first jews were appointed to judgeships and as states attorneys. 1870 the Orientalist Gustav Weil was the first called to teach at a university in Baden. 1870 at Gailingen the first jewish buergermeister, Leopold Guggenheim, was elected. 1868 Grand Duke Friedrich I appointed the Durlach attorney Moritz Ellstaetter to be finance minister of Baden, the highest office held to date by a german jew. Ellstaetter's reform of the government of Baden was to serve as an example for all of Germany. In this period four jews became members of the Baden Landtag. Naphtalie Naef for Freiburg, Elias Eller for Mannheim, Jakob Gutmann for Karlsruhe and R. Kusel. 1877-1880 Naef represented Loerrach in the Landtag.

Politically the development followed other paths after 1858, following the disappointing results of the 1848/49 revolution.

In Baden the pressure of the reaction had relaxed to such a point that the liberals could talk to the government and work together constitutionally and could hope for a moderate reform program. The large participation of the jews in political life was particularly noticable in election campaigns and parliament. An approximate overview of the change in politics in Germany during the 'new era' shows the following:

Conservatives,	Loyalists	14%
	Moderate Liberals	50%
	Democrats/Progressives	35%
	Socialists	1%

The great majority of the german jews welcomed the new german Reich, and the national-liberal party solved their political dilemma. They could loyally support Bismarck's 'policy of might' but here and there criticize internal politics. They were equal citizens and voted with the german 'Buergetum' (citizenry-tr) with new selfconfidence both liberal and nationally. Only a small minority warned of Bismarck's apparent constitutionally, who saw in the parties and parliaments only tools for his political plans.

The majority of the jews held it a duty to partake with all strength in the creation of the new fatherland. This sense of duty could not always and as a matter of course agree to the predominance of Prussia in Germany. Particularly in the south and southwest the antipathy against the prussian hegemony was quite strong. Here in Baden, in addition to the particularistic antipathy towards Prussia the jews also had their special interests resulting from the varied status of the emancipation in north & south. Whereas the emancipation was an accomplished fact in Baden, in Prussia there was still discrimination towards jews in government and army. Therefor it is only too obvious why the jews were somewhat less than enthusiastic about the unity of the greater fatherland in view of religious considerations.

The conclusion of the franco-german war no doubt influenced the political orientation of the jews in Baden greatly considering the nearness of warfare. So opined 'der Israelit', the organ of the orthodox jews of southern Germany: Germany is reunited again...no longer lfy the ravens about the Kyffhaeuser, the emperor's throne... has become reality. During the war district synagogue authorities ordered daily prayers for the victory of german weapons, as follows:

Prayers of Supplication during War: In view of the war broken out between Germany & France, the resulting in deprivation and hardship, danger to property & person, when Israel in time of deprivation and hardships pleads to G'd, and found salvation, that other confessions too hold special prayers and Israel will not be found wanting, but rather to set a good example:

1) Every evening at 5, excepting friday and saturday, as long as war goes on and one is not prevented by extraordinary circumstances, prayers will be held in synagogue, with reading of psalms either on the basis of weekly or monthly schedule.

2) All adults must be present at these prayers and quietly and devoutly participate.

For the Synagogenrat: Reutlinger, Hermann Levi.

The district synagogue as ordered by the Oberrat on 31 July 1870 ordered an addition to the regular prayer for the Grand Duke on saturday, that sought the blessings for german weapons. At the same time the Synagogenrat was requested that the members of the congregations be asked to be 'willing to sacrifice, to exercise true and daily love of one's neighbor, particularly for the sick and wounded, all in need & suffering. At the same time one is reminded to follow all orders of the government and it's representatives.'

On 17 March 1871 it was decided that on 22 March, the birthday of H.M.

the Kaiser and King of Prussia a special peace festival was to be held by all the Israelites in the country with synagogue services, after the ending of same a collection was to be held to benefit the invalids.

On 19 March 1872 it was ordered that the Kaiser's birthday - 22 March - was to be regularly celebrated in synagogue.

On 29 April 1877 the silver jubilee of the Grand Duke's accession to the throne was celebrated festively.

The the great majority of the german jews the german Reich, the king of Prussia as emperor, the Reichstag, general voting right, freedom of conscience, equality, freedom of occupation and freedom of movement were now absolute achievements.

The persons symbolizing the new Reich, the patriarchal figure of Wilhelm I and 'given us fate' chancellor Bismarck, aside from all political utilitarian factors served as a human factor the the formation of jewish opinion. The jews were now after a long vain wait in the great and mighty Reich, fully germans with heart and soul - wether Kaiser and Reich, wether might & glory, were now part of the beloved fatherland. That peaked in the expression: We german jews are germans and nothing else. The constant attempts to conceptualize the connection between germanism and judaism finally led to the formation of the concept " German citizens of jewish belief". It defines the compromise between their citizenship of Germany and their adherence to judaism. However the gaining positive tendency to the new state judaism became more hollow. On the basis of teh changed political situation one believed the desire of jewish nationalism to be put off until messianic times. The number of those who no longer held to the traditional practices was growing. So a phrase became symptomatic for this development: The cultured jews are not just jews, but rather non-christians.

Many jews felt that their judaism had become without content. The new values it was to fill were varying formulas of a secular cultural protestantism. So a syncretic monotheism arose whose only basis was " the one father of all, a love to all with no exception for those of toher beliefs" in place of the old testament belief of revelation. Concepts like piety, mission, charity, that characteristically applied to all religous thinking of the 19th century, replaced the precept of love from 3 Moses 19,18.

The messianic hope is now nothing more than the hope of the jews for integration in a perfecting humanity.

Because of the economic consequences of the won german-french war the influences of the culturally and industrially far advanced cities spread to the small Landgemeinden. In the cities were greater opportunities for education.

The youth of the Landgemeinden were most avid for higher education! There, in the large cities, was the possibility to advance economically and to do business on a larger scale. The hectic advancement of industry and commerce after the franco-german war brought many not only work and bread but also economic speculation, that in these founding years (Gruenderjahre) caused whole industries to break down. This caused a larger economic crisis, particularly in northern Germany. In this climate of economic depression grew the anti-semitic movement, and won, starting from Berlin, much ground in many german lands. The already believed dead anti-semitism no longer was directed against the jewish religion. Too many jews became indifferent to their religion with the move to the big cities and their too rapidly advancing assimilation. A new characteristic of the anti-semitic movement that never found it's scientific justification was the inferiority of the jewish race compared to the so-called arian race. The jews to whom this attack was directed remained indifferent. So one can ascribe the new hatred to the above-mentioned depression, the cultural fight of Bismarck, and the party-political manoeuvres of the conservatives. Most succinctly expressing the disappointment of of the german-patriotic jews was a flier against the anti-semitic remarks of Heinrich v. Treitschke. " As the barriers fell we believed prejudice had fallen too, when they could vote they believed that they were truly loved."

The semi-scientific remarks about the new racial theory were from people with big names: The orientalist Paul de Lagarde, the national-economist Eugen Duehring, the orientalist and diplomat Arthur de Gobineau, the historian Heinrich v. Treitschke, and the Berlin court preacher Adolf Stoecker. The so highly and widely esteemed politician & scientist v. Treitschke explicated the nationalistic tendency to the national-liberal jews most clearly. The anti-semitic wave had shaken up the jews but a spiritual awakening failed to appear. The shock paralyzed them and many merely wished not to be seen and considered as jews. The anti-semitism pushed them back into the defensive position of the jewish interests politics, from which they had made their way into german politics.

In Baden this anti-semitic agitation was not accepted nearly as much as in Prussia and Saxony. Nevertheless no israelites were army officers in the army under prussian command and organized in the prussian manner since 1868.

In Kirchen and other jewish communities of the Oberland little was felt of this pseudo-scientific anti-semitism. The comment of Klinkenberg: "Anti-semitism was never the heavy groping of the rabble. for always at it's beginning were scientific constructions to enable the masses to define an enemy - us & them" is fully obvious here, Golo Mann wrote about this targeted jewry: It was german in it's virtues, german in it's lack thereof, it was patriotic, it was largely conservative.

The jews were entered as witnesses for the birth of a christian child in the registry, and vice versa the christian for a jewish birth. Jews served in the same fire companies, sang in the same singing clubs like the other men at Kirchen too. One did not live in separate quarters of town, but the jewish homes were spread all over town. One knew each other, the strengths and weaknesses of each. This acquaintance, intimate knowledge of all was the best opposition against however scientific anti-semitism. Therefore there never was, until the 3rd decade of this century, any noteworthy anti-semitism. There was no speculative basis for it.

Golo Mann's characterisation of the german jews may be summarized in a single phrase: they were willing to be assimilated. Until emancipation the entire life of the jews was guided by the Synagogengemeinde, that had all the functions of a civil community, such as jurisprudence, social services, etc. With the full emancipation in 1862 religion became 'confession', the emancipated jewish citizen lived at the same time in the Synagogengemeinde and the civil community.

This breach of identity & tradition brought with it an internal crisis of jewry that could not have come at a worse time.

The self-emancipating jewry did not find itself into another formed society because that itself was in a severe crisis. and where the breach into this society actually succeeded the arriviste found himself in a no longer functioning situation and itself had an identity crisis. In the ending 19th century judaism was no only determined by its own religion. The jews in the Markgraeflerland, living in an almost totally protestant-liberal surroundings, saw many of their cultic forms put in doubt. The jewish as well as the christian confessions were open to the upcoming critic of religion. So primarily in the mostly protestant cities, and later in the Landgemeinden, jews with time parted from the religious practices, and finally from their religion. The two large christian churches had over the centuries of existing together accommodated themselves, and tolerated each other with specific spheres of influence. Now that a third, unimportant confession demanded equal acceptance it was not given. "Acknowledged is not the jew as jew but only a pale abstraction of him, the human being in the jew, as something that does not exist by itself."

And the jews themselves, even tho they knew that their welcome in this society was only tolerated, in elections they tended to vote in the Reichstag and Landtag elections rather anti-semites true to the concept of Reich, rather than free-thinking representatives of their emancipation even tho they might fear that their specific interest might suffer thereby. What odd political schizophrenia.

The Flight from the Land (Country - as in small towns)

The small increase in the population of German Jews between 1825 & 1925 was 67% under that of the general population, and was not stemmed due to the move of Jews to cities or emigrating. The land-flight began with the emancipation. From the trader and cattle dealer they became merchants in the city, the independent entrepreneur. The youth, now free to attend universities, became doctors or lawyers. The reservoir of the Jews of Baden, the Landgemeinde that heretofore had decreased only by emigration to foreign countries but generally made it up internally, now lost its function. Whereas 1852 81% of all Jews in Baden lived in Landgemeinden and only 19% in the city, by 1895 the percentages were 52 % resp. 48%.

However the cities were not flooded with Jews.

Cities grew apace, but at the same time the number of Jews living therein grew less. Only a few cities were spared this development.

1900 Karlsruhe had 2,576 Jews, 1905 only 2,460. 1900 Mulhouse (Alsace) had 2,466, 1905 only 2,428.

As long as the in-migration from the Landgemeinden continued the Jewish congregations in the cities could retain their membership or even increase slightly.

Using the example of Kirchen: 1870 - 1899 the town had 984 births and 724 deaths, for a gain of 26.42%.

The J. Congr. at this time had 152 births vs. 98 deaths, a 35.53 % gain.

This means that in this period the development of the J. Congr. in Kirchen developed normally, in fact had a 9% surplus of births over the general population. Compared to other J. congregations in Baden its age spread was quite normal. So in 1880 there were 160 Jews in Kirchen. In the period 1870 - 1899 for the first time the number of emigrants exceeds that of the immigrants. In this period 84 people emigrated, whereas only 50 came in.

Basel was a real magnet for Jews desiring to emigrate. All facilities were available for the furtherance of business and academic ambitions. Over 20% of the emigrants went to Basel and in time became Swiss citizens. The nearby city of Loerrach with the flowering textile industry and a rapidly developing population drew the second highest number of Kirchen Jews; 13% of the emigrants went there. Following is Emmendingen with 8 emigrants, Muelheim with 7, Konstanz with 5. Alsace with 13 emigrants (+ 1 to Paris) follows Switzerland with 19 outside of Baden lands. 4 emigrated to other German lands, only 1 to the USA. 46 moved to congregations in Baden.

68% left Kirchen because they sought better work and earnings opportunities, or were simply family members who just had to go along with these moves.

Immigration

Between 1870 & 1899 a total of 50 persons (still provably today) immigrated to Kirchen. About half & half were men & women. The great proportion of 20-30 year old women in the immigrant group proves the marriage thesis as main reason for all jews coming to Kirchen. 88% moved to Kirchen to marry, and only 6 persons -12% - came for occupational reasons. Emmendingen with 8 supplied the most people and equals the 8 that went to Emmendingen from Kirchen. 22 persons came from congregations in Baden, 12 from Alsace, 5 from Switzerland, and only 2 from other german lands. Of 9 immigrants it was impossible to establish their origin.

Occupational Analysis

The main occupation of the jewish inhabitants was trade (Handel)(Tr.note: Handel may be interpreted as trading as in commodities, or commerce) Before the turn of the century 6,488 persons= 9% of all people employed in commerce were jews. Of these 4,054 were independent or conducted businesses, i.e. managers; the largest part of the jews had a socially advantageous position and was therefore above the population average. Of the 6,488 commercially active persons 5,696 = 88% were dealing/trading in goods and products, 157=2.4% were in money & credit business, and brokers claimed 364 persons = 5.6%. In the Landeskommisariatsbezirk (commission district-tr) Freiburg, of which Kirchen was a part, jews in the goods and products (produce-?) commerce comprised 18.5%, in money & credit trade 3.2%, Handlungsvermittlung (brokerage, commercial travellers-tr) 41.2%, & insurance 3.2%. In all Baden the participation of jews in commerce was as follows: Goods & products - 18.3%, money & Credit-15.7%, Brokerage/sales - 37.8%, peddling - 8.2%, & insurance - 5.3%. In Kirchen 1880 23.6 of all inhabitants were in goods & product trade, 0.66% in brokerage. Civil service (Army, administration, schools, universities, etc.) jews in the Freiburg district were at 2%; in Kirchen only 0.66%. In Baden 3.66% of jews were in civil service. 1.97 % in Kirchen had a trade or craft. The 'Nothandel' lost its predominant position held for centuries and gave way to the independent entrepreneur & merchant, who easily could integrate into the rising middle class. Later, in Kirchen only after 1918, the congregations came into an economic depression because of the constant emigration and therefore the reduction in births and declined socially. A further example for the healthy social position of the jewish part of the community of Kirchen can be seen in the law suit the community filed against the grand ducal Oberschulrat (Board of Education-tr). By a law of 1876 all confessional schools were dissolved and turned into general schools. A consequence of this was the participation of the political community (town) to pay some

of the costs of religious instruction if the number of a specific confession exceeded 20 pupils. The town was repeatedly told by the Oberschulamt to pay an annual sum of RM 160.00 to the israelitic religion teacher Weikersheimer. 1879 the town council refused this payment unanimously. And the payment ordered by the Bezirksamt was only complied with after attorney Beck of Freiburg saw that a lawsuit had no chance of success vs. the grand ducal Oberschulamt. Isr. children in Kirchen schools: 1879 - 38, 1883/4 - 33, 1884/5 - 32, 1885/6-36. The isr. religion teacher needed the extra money, since their pay was ca. 600 - 800 mark per annum (plus ca. 400 M. for other services), while a regular teacher in a normal school (Volksschule) received 1,100 - 2,000 mark.p.a. + dwelling. The isr. religion teachers were always complaining that their salary was late or not paid at all. A whole fascicle of these complaints is to be found in the Staatsarchiv Freiburg.

1888 per law the taxation for the local churches and synagogues was changed. Up until now the synagogue taxed on the basis of self-determination. Now the state took this over, even tho the isr. congregaiton protested after having used this means for centuries successfully.

1889 the districts and the seats of the Bezirksrabbiner were reorganized due to the large movement of the population. The Bezirkssynagoge Sulzburg, together with Breisach was combined into the Bezirksrabbinat Freiburg. The Bezirksrabbiner were required hereafter, following the example of the protestant deacons, to annjually visit every congregation in their district, to keep track of congregation statistics, supervise the general & fiscal administration, religious intruction and the Shechita.

1889 the Oberrat der Israeliten of baden surveyed the form of services hels at all synagogues. In Kirchen, as in most Landgemeinden, worship was conducted in the traditional manner. Only in the cities the partly germanized worship had appeared. The Praeger prayerbook (the latter worship, germanized-tr) considered the changes in the situation of the jews, contained some abbreviations and changes of the old text. So portions concerning sacrifice, return to Zion, and teh belief in a personal Messias were deleted or changed. When this appeared 1904, resp. 1906, it caused a storm of indignation among the orthodox Landgemeinden. The 'Verein zur Wahrung der Interessen des gesetzestreuen Judentum in Baden' (The org. for the preservation of the interest of orthodox jewry-tr) blamed the Oberrat of religious indifference and accused it of favoring Reform udaism. Protests hailed from all sides. Five orthodox rabbis rejuected this prayerbook, as did the, becoming more influential, zionists.

But the outward situation of the jews was defined by the rabble-rousing anti-semites. At the election for the Reichstag as well as the Landtage 1879-1880 the middle class distances itself largely from jewish candidates. Here the word was given out: "Don't elect jews!". In Baden, that in all Germany was the first to seat jews in the Landtag had not a single jew after 1879.

The german jews had great hopes for the administration of Friedrich III. They publicly asked that all male children born 1888 be named Friedrich. Over families followed this call. But Kaiser Friedrich reigned only 99 days, and sick ones at that.

His succession was feared by many jews. Symptomatic therefor is the jewish reaction to the fall of Bismarck early 1890. Many were glad to see him go, but only lukewarm at that. His demission was a victory of Wilhelm II, whose plans were looked upon by jews with concern. The following exemplifies the divisiveness among the jews in this matter: "Certainly it was fortunate that Furst Bismarck was dismissed, but that fortune is the misfortune."

As defense against the constantly growing antisemitism in 1893 the 'Central-verein deutscher Staatsbuerger Juedischen Glaubens' - CV -(Central org. of german citizens of jewish faith-tr), which was joined the same year by the 'Vereinigung Badischer Israeliten' (Org. of Baden israelites-tr).

Both groups sought the full assimilation of the jews into the german nation, while retaining their jewish faith, equal to protestants, catholics, or other confession legally accepted in the Reich. Gabriel Riessers words: 'He who denies me my gemran fatherland denies my right to think, to breathe the air. Therefor I must defend myself against him as against a murderer.' expresses better than any explanation of principles, the strength of this expression in the german language and culture, plainly a 'german'.

On 27 Sept. 1893 the program of the CV was established, that particularly in point 4 referred to the defense against the growing anti semitism. The Baden organization joined the CV as a local provincial group. As countermeasure to the partially assimilation-seeking CV, in the 80's a movement began that in the 90's formally became the Zionist movement. This and the CV are to be considered part of the large movement towards organization of the 19th century.

Altho the zionist movement was a welcome combatant with the CV against anti-semitism, this collegiality soon changed. On 30 March 1913 the CV declared against the Posen decision of the german Zionists, that decided that every zionist must make emigration to Palestine a life's goal: 'We demand of our members not only the fulfilment of civic duties, but german thought and application of this german thought in daily civil life. As far as the german zionist seeks to secure a safe haven for the disenfranchised jews of the east, or to raise the jews pride in their religion and history, he is welcome as a member. Of the zionist however, who denies a german feeling of nationality, feels himself a guest among a host people and nationally only feels as a jew, from him we must part'.

What is Zionism? Klinkenberg defines: 'Zionism is as much a break with the jewish tradition as retention of tradition.'

Zionism came about because of anti-semitism, and therefor the rush toward assimilation that was understood as a full self-denial of jewish values. Zionism meant a huge politization of jewry. It developed in two different cultural areas at the same time, In Galicia (Austria-Hungary-Russia) & Germany. When in 1896 Theodor Herzl published his program 'Der Judenstaat' he was unaware that already in 1882 a Odessa jew, Jehuda Leib (Leon Pinsker) had published a work on the samme problem, 'Autoemancipation'.

However Herzl managed to unify the various streams of zionist coloration into a single organization for action. After the 1. Zionist World Congress, Basel 29/30 August 1899, Herzl discussed the main points of the Basel program with Kaiser Wilhelm II, the turkish Sultan, and the british colonial minister Chamberlain. "To become actuality...for the jewish people a legally secure home in Palestine".

The jews of Kirchen hadn't any idea of these world-shaking events that took place so nearby, and that was to become a major world movement. They had other worries. Year after year more young people moved away. Less came to Kirchen from out of town, and elss children were born since the young people left. A definite shrinking process set in, noticable in daily life. The j.congregation in 1873 with 192 persons reached it's zenith, by 1895 it was only 138 people.

In these eventful years a meeting of south-Baden synagogue boards called into life a jewish burial society. They determined: If of the round 5,000 j. families in Baden ca. 4,000 family-fathers were to join this organization, a contribution of 15 Kr. at each death cover all burial costs of the members, and pay out to each widow or orphans the sum of 1,000 fl. On 18 Febr. 1892 during a congregational meeting in Kirchen 12 familymen declared their membership in this burial society.

At the turn of the century the Kirchen congregation got smaller and older, but economically very successful. That is they became more affluent and equalled their other fellow citizens in income and property. The Kirchener had for many years owned land and houses, and like almost everyone in the village did some farming for their own use, meanwhile following their activities as merchants & traders. In this time many Kirchen jews were born in a Basel hospital, whereas most non-jews had their children at home. Also, the Kirchen jews could afford to have their illnesses treated & cured in Basel hospitals.

Many of the emigrants became affluent, rich & highly regarded. As examples, Leopold Bloch who moved to Basel at this time (51.0) & David Lieberles (132.0), Salomon Bloch (54.2) who moved to Zurich, Dr. Samuel Moses to Loerrach and had his practice there, cigar manufacturer Marx Bloch (47.1) to Emmendingen. During WWI he received several delegations from Kirchen and entertained them grandly. He also started a foundation for the construction of a festival hall. Veit Weil (189.4) who moved to Freiburg and Hirsch Bigar, resident in Kirchen, both made large donations of money to the congregation. The previously mentioned Marx Bloch of Emmendingen left a war bond nominally worth RM 1,000 for the purchase of their own funeral carriage. Others again, mostly second generation after emigration, became doctors like Dr. Alexander Bloch (52.4) at Balingen, later at Basel. Lawyers like Dr. Karl Erwin Bloch at Luzern, Rabbi Fritz Bloch, Landesrabbiner of Wuerttemberg (47.6.1) or lawyer Nathan Moses (161.0) at Karlsruhe. Even though the jews had in the 40 years since the removal of the restrictive laws had become emancipated economically and educationally as well as somewhat assimilated, a latent anti-semitism remained even in the highest places.

P.78 Singinclub 'Rhenus' at singing festival at Emmendingen 1924. The club visited Marx Bloch (47.1) who had done much for Kirchen.

When during a revision of the Baden constitution in 1904 the 1st. chamber of the Landtag was enlarged, the israelites used the opportunity to have a representative there like the protestant and catholic churches, in this permanent assembly. This request of the jews could as per the state ministry 'not be granted under the present circumstances.'

What the 'present circumstances' were like is exemplified by the never ending discussion of ritual slaughtering of the jews. Initiated during the last quarter of the past century this question was presented 1898 a.o. as a petition of the Humane Society (Tierschutzverein). Even though scientifically it had been proven long ago that the jewish lawgiver, as expressed by the then Veterinaer-Regierungsrat Dr. Lydtin, that animals slaughtered ritually were definitely and totally killed and that there is no cruelty involved in the method in which jewish butchers are trained, yet 'cruelty and bloody-mindedness of the jews' supposedly was proven.

Strict rules, administered by the local police, controlled slaughtering in Kirchen too. The Kirchen cattle dealers had to slaughter their cattle in the local abbatoir, whose register of 1889 still exists. Israel Braunschweig had 10 beeves and 4 smaller animals slaughtered; Leopold Braunschweig follows with 8 small animals (calves, sheep, goats), whereas Goffhold Lieberless had 6 small animals slaughtered.

The years before WWI were marked by a further shrinkage and over-aging of the congregation. 1905 Kirchen still had 86 jewish inhabitants.

What was the position of the german and badonian jews in relation to german politics in the years before WWI? Politicians of many parties & groupings warned sternly of the up-coming war. Ludwig Frank, the jewish lawyer born at Nonnenweiher, member of the Landtag and the Reichstag, one of the brightest lights of the german social democrats, in May 1913 at Bern, & May 1914 at Basel, called leading politicians and delegates from France to a conference that had as it's aim a durable peace between Germany & France. Albert Ballin, jew and confidant of the Kaiser, in April 1914 also tried to secure peace between England & Germany by inviting Churchill to Kiel for conversations.

But just as the majority of the german was helpless at the foreign policy of the Kaiser and his advisors, and trusted them implicitly, the german jews approached this time also without a true estimation of events. The german population was just as surprised by the war as their jewish fellow citizens. Both were swept by patriotic enthusiasm that broke out all over Germany at the outbreak of war. Within the jewish view there was no question or difference as to duty to the fatherland.

The same Ludwig Frank, who shortly before outbreak of war tried to prevent it with all means, in August 1914 said that in the moment of danger and the national defense all considerations must cease before the need to protect the borders. Like many of his social-democratic colleagues he spoke for war loans, volunteered as a 40-year old and fell as one of the first in the trenches.

Only a very few found the courage, once the first enthusiasm was spent, to uncover the senselessness of this undertaking: "Must we deny that war is to us jews more strange than to the others? Must we be ashamed after three thousand years of discipline of the soul that we no longer understand the world when it leads to war? Are we really worse because....not only the enemy, but the fear at every step that became second nature to us to not spill human blood?"

P.80 Good Conduct Certificate. 2½ years military service is finished. Leopold Braunschweig conducted himself particularly praiseworthy.

Veist Bloch as soldier - 1916.

The call of Wilhelm II: "I know no parties, I know only Germans" was followed in Baden by 4,758 Jews. This was 18.37% of the total Baden Jewry. The proportion of draftees of the general population was 19%. 488 Jews volunteered. From Kirchen, from what can still be determined today, the following Jewish citizens participated in the war: Jonas Olesheimer (166.1), Leopold Braunschweig (100.0), Samuel Moses (158.0), David Moses (160.0), who died July 1, 1916 in France, Veist Bloch (72.0).

With the continuation of the war, difficulty in food supply, and a stagnant front, the antisemitism quiescent in the early days of the war revived. The Jews were accused to have caused the war, to enrich themselves thereon, and to not fight in the field in comparable numbers. 'The Jewish shirkers' became a common expression. 1916 the war ministry ordered that the number of Jews serving in the army at the front be counted.

After the breakdown of civil order November 1918 Jews in leading positions in Baden were responsible for a almost peaceful transition of government. It was the two Karlsruhe attorneys Ludwig Marum (minister of justice) and the former Reichstag delegate Ludwig Haas (Interior minister). At the risk of his life Haas assisted the grand-ducal family to flee Karlsruhe.

The constitution of 1919 declared Baden to be a democratic republic. Par. 18 concerns religious church matters: 'Each inhabitant of the land has the protection to freedom of conscience & worship of his God....All governmental religious and churchly communities are equal in law. They are corporations under law and have the right to tax themselves according to law. They arrange & manage their affairs freely & independently within state laws. Particularly the church offices will be decided by the churches themselves.' This dispensed with the various 'Bevormundungsämter' - the 1812 introduced state commissioners, the naming of the Oberrat members, the rabbis and heads of synagogue by government offices.

The economic situation of the early twenties was hopeless. Astronomical unemployment and the devaluation of money boosted the ever present anti-semitism in new forms. The 'disaffected' were from the conservatives to the reactionary groups, that hated the Weimar Republic as a imposition of world Jewry to destroy Germany.

The humiliating peace of Versailles, the apparently undefeated German divisions, all these complicated matters found their explanation in one word: Daggerthrust. The new republic was a Jew state. The Jews were blood suckers, freeloaders, parasites on the corpus of the German people. They formed a state within a state, destroyed the folkish organism. Individually they showed greed, lust, materialism.

Another time 'international jewry rules the world', or if it didn't do that it was the 'Wise men of Zion'.

The religious and economic antisemitism was totally displaced by the racial antisemitism. The jews were part of a 'foreign, inferior race'. The novels of Arthur Dinters: The sin vs. the spirit, The sin vs. the blood, The sin against love carried this racial antisemitism to a great part of the german people.

Among the german clubs, parties & organizations who carried antisemitism in their programs the NSDAP founded 1920 was perhaps the largest but not only party. Among them were the 'German Social' party founded before the war, that 1922 split from the Deutschnationalen Volkspartei, the german-folkish freedom party, the front-veterans league, the Steelhelmet, the young-german order, the german-folkish Protection league, as well as the already founded before the war 'All-german League'. They all spread the antisemitism already carried by a large part of the german people.

The Religion Teachers

In this politically heated climate the position of the jewish religion teacher, already disadvantaged, became desperate. Allowances for price increases and the low salaries authorised by the Oberrat could never keep pace with inflation, and seriously threatened the economic existence of the jewish teachers. A payscale set by a commission appointed by the Oberrat January 1920 that was to keep adjusting the pay according to rises in costs was too slight to ameliorate the difficult situation. A look into the papers "re the taxation for the local religious needs of the local community" gives the picture of a impossible situation .

The religion teacher of many years standing in Kirchen Jakob Alperowitz (1.0) on 4 July 1921 complained to the Bezirkssynagoge Freiburg that at current high prices he cannot support his family of 6. When the Kirchen Synagogengemeinde in 1924 complained to the Oberrat about the size of the payscale of the teacher, the Oberrat in Karlsruhe felt it had to take a position for Alperowitz 15 Sept. 1924: He is in service as teacher since 23 June 1907 and has 2 children aged 6 - 14 and 2 aged 14 - 21 and absolutely needed the funds assigned badly.

The same year Jakob Alperowitz left Kirchen and moved to Muellheim where he served as teacher and cantor until 1939. (Tr: He was tr. teacher in hebr. & religion).

1931 Alfred Ludwig Rosenberg (173.0) was the last official teacher, cantor & shochet of the Kirchen j. congregation.

P.82 Jewish Youth from Kirchen & Muellheim (?-tr) on Excursion. Standing with glasses: Religion teacher & cantor Alfred Rosenberg.

Alfred Rosenbach was from Breisach. Among his ancestors is the rabbinic family Kahn who lived in Sulzburg for a long time. After completion of secular schooling he attended the jewish teacher training institution at Muerzburg 1928-1931.

Shortly before starting at Kirchen he received instruction in Shechita at Freiburg. As per his signed contract of 22 Nov. 1931 his duties entailed: all religious instruction, serving as cantor during worship, holding sermons after sabbath morning worship, and to serve as shochet available to all members of the congregation. He was also required to supervise the sale of meat and perform the ritual removal of certain veins & tendons, etc. His salary was set according to the Baden scale, group 4-b, for special officials. He was due two weeks vacation and a apartment (4 rooms & Kitchen) in the synagogue building.

P.82 Contract of Alfred Rosenberg -parts of first & last page, 1931
1932 he was amde clerk of the congregation. During his service in Kirchen he met Alice Bloch (72.0) whom he married 1935.

P.83 1935 Family Picture in front of synagogue. L-r:Bertha Bloch
Veist Bloch, Alice Bloch, Alfred Rosenberg.

In May 1935 Alfred Rosenberg left Kirchen and became religion teacher and cantor of the j.congregation at Darmstadt. The young couple remained there until 1938 and from there emigrated to Brooklyn,N.Y.

There he worked for a short time as religion teacher and cantor, and since 1941 in Lansdale,Pa. employed by a wholesale grocer and part-time teacher & cantor.

The years 1924 - 1929 brought an economic stabilization and a reduction of anti-semitism in the regular parties. The international economic crisis of 1929 soon became catastrophic in Germany. The statistically calculateable people's income fell by half 1928 - 1932. That antisemitism is the revolt of the small people (Kleinbuerger-tr) agaist industrialization was specially proven this year.

P.83 Letter of Acceptance of resignation by Oberrat.

The middle class, hit hardest by the recession after the workers, was the home of the german jews and at the same time it's worst enemy in the supporters of the NSDAP (nazi party-tr). This party had it's greatest following in the middle class. So the jews were doubly competitors of these people of the middle class.

G.L.Moses describes the general basis of all german parties from the center to the right, such as Alideutsche, DNVP, NSDAP, etc. as follows: The common basis of the anti-jews is the constant struggle against estrangement & uprooting common to all society in repid industrialisation. Such thinking processes, using the word 'folkish' sought not only a solution of the problems of a capitalistic society but also sought the end of the distancing of the people from this society. So one threw over rational thinking in order to achieve a 'folkishness' in a more 'natural' state, disregarding feelings & moods. 'Heimat' was not the concept of place but whre man stood vs. his connection with nature. The actuality of the new society was something bad, and the jews embodied the new times.

The parties of the center - DVNP, Radical Democrats, German Democrats (or German State Party), Zentrum, Christian-social Volksdienst, Wirtschaftspartei, & the German Volkspartei, had differing views towards antisemitism, i.e. the Jews. So one can categorize the DVNP as extreme antisemitic, whereas the German Democrats abhorred antisemitism as 'an immoral movement appealing to the lowest instincts'. The parties of the left, SPD & KPD, also had differing opinions re antisemitism. Whereas the SPD never propounded antisemitism in its election propaganda the KPD followed the general trend.

The immigration to Kirchen between 1900 & 1932 went down to 27 people. The immigrants came largely from Baden J. congregations (15), from the rest of Germany (4), and from Switzerland (4).

20 left for towns in Baden, 15 to the USA, 14 to Switzerland (13 to Basel alone), 10 to other towns in Germany, 6 to Alsace, 5 to France, and 1 to Argentina. Above all the emigration to the USA with 21% of emigrants of this period, later to accelerate during the Nazi period, and at the same time was the finish.

The Catastrophy - 1933 - 1940

Injustice carried out can't be denied by secrecy. It is useless to want to hide behind the injustice done to our people by other nations during the war. The mass murder of the Jews will not be hidden thereby. If we believe in G'd's judgement over our people in his grace that will turn curse into blessing and will free us for a new life and work for our people in present and future.

Leo Baeck closed his address on the occasion of the 125-year celebration of the Obererrat der Israeliten Badens as follows: To truly remember means to truly hope, both are of the same inner root. Only he who retains his past can face the future. Today we look to another future as it was thought of years ago. But one thing we must know: the Baden Jewry's strength, in which the Jews of Baden live, ordered and set by means of its constitution, it will continue to work for blessings in difficult times, and so as G'd the eternal wills it blessed better days will be.

These comments of Baeck were based upon a one-year experience of the reign of the Nazis. The Jews of Germany really looked to the future differently, even though there was really little hope for a truly dignified future. Too much confidence in human reason & morality was destroyed in this first year. Century old ties were suddenly negated, neighbors and friends were stopped from dealing with their fellow human beings by threat of official retribution.

How it got to that we all know. And yet after almost 60 years it remains still inexplicable.

The first elections after the takeover for the Reichstag were held 5 March 1933. Kirchen had the following election results:

	5 March 1933	31 July 1932
NSDAP	53% - 46.1%	51.4%-43.6
SPD	12.7% - 10.7%	14.5% - 11.9%
KPD	12 % - 17.3%	17.7% - 20.2%
Zentrum	1.2% - 15%	1.3% - 15%
DNVP	5.2% - 4.5%	4.9% - 2%

(The first numbers are for Kirchen, the others for Loerrach Bezirk.)

In the Reich the results were as follows:	NSDAP	43.9%
	SPD	18.3%
	KPD	12.3%
	Zentrum	13.14%

Already on 13 March 1933 the regime changed in Kirchen, as described by the 'Oberbadischen Volksblatt': Thursday evening about 10 PM a troop of uniformed Nationalsocialists drew up before the Rathaus and raised the Swastika flag as well as that of Baden, which immediately caused inhabitants to assemble, because the large plaza in front of the Rathaus filled up immediately. The Deutschland Lied as well as the Horst Wessel Lied were sung. After this performance the troop moved off to do likewise at the Efringen Rathaus.

P.86 Adolf Hitler with retinue on May 19, 1939 inspects a sector of the Westwall under construction near Kirchen.

P.86 Frontpage of 'Oberbadisches Volksblatt' of 1 April 1933.

Shortly thereafter on 1 April a organized boycott was proclaimed against the jews in the entire Reich, against all jewish businesses, doctors & lawyers. On the same day the Aufruf (P.85 - see above) appeared.

"Volksgenossen" (fellow citizens-tr) in Loerrach & vicinity: The following jewish businesses and doctors in Loerrach are boycotted and are therefor to be avoided.

In Kirchen the only effect was the boycott of the small grocery of Julius Bloch (75.0) and his wife Sophie nee Geismar on the Friedrich Rotta Str. (formerly house # 72) and the butchershop of Max Braunschweig (99.0). The other Kirchen jews had no stores but primarily traded in cattle.

Dr. Leo Baum, resident & practicing at Efringen since 1927, where he also was attending physician & trainer for the newly founded Red Cross emergency unit, left for Basel 5 March 1933, as written in the local chronicle of Efringen-Kirchen: ' the conditions made it impossible to further function in the Red Cross unit.' Later Dr. Baum left Switzerland and went to the USA.

According to the Weimar constitution, valid to 24 March 1933, all citizens were equal before the law. Only after special laws passed in the Reichstag that day did exception-laws for portions of the population become possible. Already on 7 April 1933 the first decree against jews was promulgated: The re-constitution of the professional civil service.

April 1933 the then local NSDAP leader Eglin in a letter to the Buergermeister demanded 'the town council should decide that citizenship rights of the emigrated Leopold Braunschweig be immediately withdrawn and given to waiting applicants.' The town council complied totally. 1936 the now functioning as Buergermeister Eglin demanded of the Bezirksamt Loerrach that the citizenship be withdrawn from the following jews: Henriette Olesheimer nee Bachrach (168.0)
 Marx Braunschweig Levi, butcher (99)
 Samuel Moses-Braunschweig (I) (158.)
 Isak Braunschweig (101)

This request too was granted, based as it was on a decree of 13 Aug.1936 to deny all jews civil rights/citizenship.

The unified press published pointed news & so-called historical reviews to show purported evils of the jews past & present:

- P.87 News Item from Stuermer Oct.1938 branding attorney Fr.Vortisch as as a 'Jew Servant' because he handled a legal matter for Alexander Bloch of Kirchen.

Hermann Albrecht in his somewhat phantastic tale 'Der Praeceptoratsvicari' told of J.P.Hebels activities during his Oberland years with a scene dealing with a jew of Kirchen in a strongly anti-semitic manner. In the Oberbadischen Volksblatt of 14 Dec.1940 writes of this tale of Albrecht with the title: When the jews still lived in the Markgraeflerland (for further articles see P.250/1). In Kirchen the readiness for the new times and the new regime were apparent in the plebiscite after President v.Hindenburg's death when the office of the Reichs President and chancellor were combined. In district Loerrach about 20% voted no, in Kirchen only 4.9% did so.

- P.88 Oberbadischen Voksblatt of 14 Dec.1940. The racially revised version of Albrechts 'Praeceptoratsvicari'.

On the eve of the power-take over 63 jews lived in Kirchen.

Characteristically the ages given 1933 show no children to 10 years of age.

Those up to 30 is only slightly larger proportionately than those over 60.

Ages of jews in Kirchen 1933:	to 30	-	5.4%
	30-60	-	42.9%
	over 60	-	31.8%

If one compares the ages of the jewish population with that of the rest of the Reich, i.e. Baden & Wurtemberg noticeable differences appear:

	to 30	30-60	over 60
Total Reich population	58%	33.8%	11.1%
Jews in the Reich	45.3%	40.9%	13.8%
Jews in Baden/Wuerttemberg	36.1%	48.5%	15.6%
Jews in Kirchen	25.4%	42.9%	31.5%

If the natural population structure of the total population of the Reich was already disturbed (due the high number over 50 and the reductions of births resulting from WWI), the population structure of the Landgemeinden becomes absurd. They were in a process of dissolution that within few years would lead to their total dissolution. Based on the relation of total births (within 5 years) and the total number of deaths, the birth and death numbers of the jewish population, the dying out of the jewish part of the population can be statistically determined.

Development from 1890 - 1926:

Baden total:	Births - 2,016,733	Deaths - 1,343,163	- excess births - 33.4%
Jews in Baden:	Births - 14,609	Deaths - 13,726	- " " - 6.0%
Kirchen total:	" - 759	" - 626	- " " - 17.5%
" jews:	" - 55	" - 70	- " " - (-21.4%)

The situation of the Kirchen jews shows the marks of a dying congregation: An excess of 21.4 % of deaths. The flight of the younger generation to the cities would have caused the congregation to die out in a short time.

Even tho Sauer opines: The mentioned negative factors of the jewish population numbers...may not lead to the conclusion that in 1933 the jewish population was near dying out even without the nazi persecution, i.e destruction. A population development never follows mathematical laws. It was entirely within the realm of possibility, that as in France following WWI, when the reduction of births can stop the reduction and so perhaps have changed the entire development.

Admitting the basic possibility of such developments it appears unlikely, that judged by current development of Kirchen jews, with the reduction of population and the great aging of the population, there would have been a sudden upswing in more peaceful times.

A view of the long-term population development 1825 - 1939 shows the just described process.

From 1825 - 1939 the total population of Kirchen grew almost 23%, whereas the jewish population went down by over 27%.

The general population of Kirchen had a surplus of births of 9.08% from 1900 - 1939, while the jews had a births deficit of 55.96 % in the same period. So where would people for an upswing come from?

Percentage of jewish population in Kirchen:	1825 - 9.6%
	1875 - 15.2%
	1900 - 10.4%
	1925 - 6.8%

The freedom of jews up to 1935 was relatively great in spite of the severe restriction placed on them after the special laws were enacted.

So one thought of the exclusionary laws a possible generality rather than being aimed against the jews. One avoided the expression 'jew' and used 'non-arian'. Also the veterans of WWI as well as those employed since 1 Aug.1918 were exempted from these laws.

January 1935 Veist Bloch (72.0) as participant in WWI received 'in the name of the Fuehrer and Reichskanzler' the 'Cross of Honor' for war participants as established by Hindenburg.

P.90 Certificate of award of 'Cross of Honor' for WWI veterans

P.90 Veist Bloch, 2nd row, extreme right, as active soldier
As late as July 1939 the Landratsamt Loerrach issued Veist Bloch a Heimatschein (certificate of residence-tr) which acknowledged his Reich citizenship. With the proclamation of the Nuernberg laws of 15 Sept.1935 and that for the 'protection of german blood & honor' all jews were forced out of all official and public positions. These Nuernberg laws first brought the definition of a qualified but never granted 'Reichsbuergerschaft' (Reich citizenship-tr - a legalistic point). Exlcuded: 'Jew is one descended from at least three fully jewish grandparents' and in par.2.2 the rule: Jewish 'Mischling' is one descended from one or two racially jewish grandparents. Fully jewish is considered without question is one grandparent who belonged to a jewish religious community." In the law for the protection of German blood par.1 says: Marriages between jews and state subjects of german or related blood are forbidden. Par.2: Non-marital relations between jews and german subjects or those of related blood are forbidden. No reaction can be ascertained in the Kirchen community to these laws. One simply could not believe that in a functioning society all connections and the most elementary basis of life was to be prohibited. How impossible this was to be believed is not to be understood as an underestimation of the situation, yet that it was not really understood is shown by the fact that only 4 persons emigrated from Kirchen 1933 - 1936 to foreign parts.

P. 91 Heimatschein of Veist & Berta Bloch, July 1939

Veist Bloch with son Jakob in front of house in Kirchen

Reprimand of Efringen doctor because of 'friendliness to jews'

The general ownership of house and home and land, the respectable prosperity, and not least the 200-year old tradition of life in Kirchen, kept the great majority of the Kirchen jews from considering an emigration.

Jewish House Ownership in Kirchen- Efringen

P.92/3/4

The numerals indicate the location of the houses on the map P.94 - Lageplan.

(LGB nr. = Lagebuch number - location register (tr.note: Up to relatively recent times houses were identified by a number on a map; street numbers are relatively recent. See Illustrations pp.92 - 93. (Not all illus.)

1. LGB # 193, Baslerstr.12, 2-fam.house, Klara Hamburger
2. " # 39, Baslerstr.90/38, One-story house w.stable & shed,Isaak & Salomon Bloch, used by N.L.Wormser
3. " # 228, Baslerstr.21,2-fam. & farm bldgs.,Samuel Moses I
4. " # 68/70, Jm Winkel, 1 st.hous w.cellar, hayloft,barn & shed, David Lieberles (Basel)
5. " # 278, House # 82, Bergrain 8, 1 story house w.stable, Regine Bloch & Marie Bloch
6. " # 269, house # 77, Bergrain 4,2-fam.house w.outbuildings & Slaughterhouse, Isaak Braunschweig
7. Former location of synagogue, Friedr.Rottra Str. Syn. had Apt. & cellar, also outbuilding w. ritual bath & schoolroom, prop. of J.Congr.
8. LGB # 268 House # 76, Baslerstr.103,1-fam.hse.w.butchershop, Marx Braunschweig
9. " # 266, House 3 266,Hse.# 73-B, Friedrich Rottra Str., Condom.ownership, outbuildings, Hermann Moses & Eva Schwab
10. " # 265, Hse.# 72, F.Rottra Str.,1-fam.hse.with shop,Julius Bloch & Sopjie Geismar
11. " # 253, Hse.# 44,Bergrain 1,1-fam.hse.,Veist & Bertha Bloch
12. " Hse.# 41,Fr.Rottra St.58, Emma Olesheimer-Weil.
13. " # 192, Hse.# 14,2-fam.w.outbuildings,Henriette Olesheimer & L. Braunschweig
14. " # 194 Hse.# 13,F.Rottra Str.46,Condom.ownership(Stockwerkeigentum) w.outbuildings,Seligmann Moses & Auguste Weil
15. " # 113 Hse.123,F.Rottra Str.11,2-story hse.,barn & stable,shed & 'Abort'(outside gravity toilet-tr),Samuel Moses II
16. " #232 Hse.# 17, Broman 3,2-famhse.w.outbuildings, Auguste Bloch-Wachenheimer
17. " # 467/8 Hse.#183, Neusetze 20,1--story dwellin ghouse & 2½ story storehouse, Rosa Moses nee Weil.
18. " #1844-a (Efringen),Hauptstr.2,House w.garden & fields,Sigmund Harburger
19. " # 4483 (E) J.Cemetery-total 19ar,7--cem.--J.Congregation

In the Lagebuch of the Coomune Kirchen jewish ownership is shown in black.

This statistic shows that over 90% of the jewish citizens of Kirchen lived in their own homes/houses. So the businennes of Leopold Braunschweiger & Veist Bloch the most highly taxed; L. Braunschweiger owned one of the first autos. Other cattle dealers, who were among the most prosperous of the inhabitants of Kirchen were: Moses Olesheimer, Alexander Bloch, Julius Bloch, Salomon Bloch, Isaak Braunschweiger, Marx Braunschweiger, Samuel Moses I & II. 1922 - 1933 10 applications were made by jewish citizens to build or rebuild their dwelling-resp. business houses. Isaak Braunschweiger on 29 June 1924 submits the following plan for a new dwelling house. See Plan - P.95

P.95 Veist Bloch in front of his House in Kirchen

After the relatively quiet years 1934/5, during which the NSDAP consolidated it's might in the economic, social & political spheres, after the release of the so-called Nuremberg laws of 1935 the anti-jewish measures became more pronounced & stricter. The mass emigration of jews from Germany to foreign countries began. But most of the overly aged jews of Germany were prepared for emigration nor willing to undertake same; up to now they were after all still germans. Those countries that in the early years of the Third Reich took in jews needed above all artisans & farmers. Occupations greatly underrepresented among jews for many reasons. Most were too old for retraining. The best opportunity to get to foreign countries had those children between ages 15 & 20. They could still learn a trade or farming, and later were able to assist their families in the new land. The chances of childless or older jews to emigrate were slim.

The political climate in those countries that accepted jews was mostly troubled. The economic crisis of the early thirties as well as growing nationalism saw in the immigrating jews only people who wanted to make the scarce bread even scarcer. From the Laender Baden & Wurtemberg in 1933, 2,114 jews emigrated; 1934 - 1,236, but 1935 only 997. The jewish population of the two states by 1935 was reduced prox. 14% solely by emigration. By comparison the emigration from Kirchen was barely 6%. After 1936 the number of emigrants grew steadily. 1936 - 2,066 & 1937 - 2,186 in B./W.

Until May 1934 the decree of the Reichspräsident of 8 Dec. 1931 was applied: For the security of economy & finances and protection of internal peace; by the transfer of money & property out of Germany. This stated: Who had a worth of over RM 200,000 and annual income of RM 20,000 had to pay a 'Reichsfluchtsteuer' (tax to permit removal of assets to foreign parts-tr) of 25%. After May 1935 this was changed to RM 50,000 assets & 20,000 RM annual income. Up to 1937 one could take along RM 50.00 in foreign currency, after 1937 RM 10.00. (TR. questions these last 3 amounts. In Muellheim, 1936 RM 10.- was the allowed amount).

The blocked accounts that emigrants had to leave behind after the sales of their houses & properties were in the beginning still relatively accessible. After 1938 the transfer loss tended to be 92 - 94% of the total assets. The later jews sold their properties in order to finance emigration the greater their loss.

So the Kirchener had to sell their houses way below market. After 1941 property still in jewish ownership were forcibly expropriated. Among these in Kirchen was the no longer existing house # 11 of Samuel Moses II, # 41 of Emma Olesheimer-Weil, the no longer standing synagogue building with the school, # 122 of Isaak and Salomon Bloch of Basel, # 123 of Samuel Moses II, # 183 of Rosa Moses Weil, and in Efringen Hauptstr.2 of Sigmund Harburger.

In a letter from the Chamber of Industry & Commerce Schopfheim of 10 Oct.1938 preventive measures were suggested against those persons who by virtue of their occupation could evade the foreign exchange regulations and perhaps secretly work towards their emigration. For Kirchen was noted with particular suspicion the firm Gebr. Mose, owner Alfred Weil, trade in hides. When in 1937 - one considers the time - wanted to buy a piece of land of Rosa Bloch nee Moses of Basel, the Reichsnaehrstand (food supply authority-tr) Muellheim to the Kirchen Buergermeisteramt: 'But we want to try that this sale not be permitted, since we can't see why the jew Weil should get this parcel ...and that perhaps a farmer can be interested in a purchase.'

On 8 August 1939 the Kreisbauernschaft (district peasant leadership-tr) Muellheim told the Kirchen town office to list all jewish properties, in compliance with a law re the use of jewish assets, in order to sell these properties to arians soonest. Among these were: Isaak Braunschweiger, Marx Levi-Braunschweiger, Isak Bloch of Basel, Salomon Bloch of Basel, Marie Bloch, Regina Bloch, David Lieberles-Maier of Basel, Samuel Moses, Samuel Moses II, Rosa Weil, Alfred Weil and the jewish congregation Kirchen.

By changes in trade-laws jews were forbidden to work at occupations they frequently followed, such as real estate brokerage & building management. By the decree of 12 Nov. 1938 for the exclusion of jews from the economy jews were now totally bereft of any possibility of working at their occupations. It was of course now routine that business were to be 'entjudet' (freed of jews-tr) and/or aryanized. This law included almost all employees in economy & industry.

Before this came the law for the registration of the jew's assets on 26 April 1938, with which the jews lost the ability to dispose of their assets without prior approval. Jews whose citizenship was revoked had their assets seized. Based on the above mentioned laws the jews were a.o. forbidden to buy objets d'art

or jewelry or to own same. Jewish physicians lost their registration, 25 July 1938, were now called 'carer of the sick' and could only have jewish patients. November 1938 the few jewish attorneys still admitted at courts were banned, and could thereafter only act as 'consultants' to jews in matters of advice and representation.

With the 3rd notice of 23 July 1938 re 'Kennkarten' (ID cards-tr) jews were issued special cards marked with a large 'J', and had to be shown at any & every visit to any official agency without request.

After the second decree of 18 August 1938 re the change of family and first names jews were only allowed to carry specific 'jewish' first names (Jakob, Joseph, David, etc. were not included in this category!). When jews had a german first name they had to add a middle name - Israel for men & Sarah for women.

The little leeway jews had after 1933 was zero by this time. Even the most well-meaning & optimistic jew of this period must finally have realized that it was impossible for them to remain in Germany. For most this realization came too late. The classic emigration countries of the 17th - 19th centuries such as Switzerland and the USA, and to a limited extent France, had by this time closed the borders or admitted only a few privileged jews. Alsace in particular was an emigration goal for the Kirchen jews in the first years of Nazism. Many families had friends, relatives and business acquaintances there. One spoke the same language, for the grandparents and great-grandparents of not a few Kirchen jews came from Alsace. But after 1933 France tightened the borders with Germany more and more. The difficult economic situation and latent anti-semitism added to these problems. Switzerland, the classic land of asylum of the 19th century, the most attractive to many thru family or business connections of the markgräfler jews, until about 1935 admitted the droves of german jews and gave them at least a temporary haven. German jews were preferred to eastern jews because of their greater likelihood of assimilation; by 1900 half of the jews of Switzerland were eastern already. 1920 of 20, 779 jews, 11,551 were 'Ostjuden'. The percentage of jews to the total population was 0.44%; jews were 2.3% of all foreigners. Beginning 1933 strict laws were enacted prohibiting the employment of jews, and residence permits were limited to only a few months. An agreement between the Swiss and the german authorities led to the marking of jew's passports with a 'J', in spite of heavy protests in Switzerland. Further, jews were admitted only when a consul agreed to their stay in Switzerland or if they had to travel thru Switzerland to another country.

August 1942 the Swiss border was closed totally. After strong protests of the population they were reopened partially later.

The USA was the goal of most of the german emigrants, including those from Kirchen. Because of high immigration rates 1920 - 1930 immigration laws were tightened greatly. 1932/3 only 996 germans were admitted to US residency. 1933/4 4,392 german jews emigrated to the USA, and after 1936 climbed to over 10,000. The chances of the emigrants to settle in the usa were better for the german jews than in an other country in spite of the low quotas. Whoever had relatives or friends there who would guarantee for them (Affidavits) could be certain to receive the emigration permit.

P.98 Isaak & Frieda Braunschweiger in Paris, July 1938; destination New York 1933 - 1940 8,846 jews entered the USA from Baden & Wurtemberg. Of these emigrated: 1933-1935 5.8%; 1936/7 - 21.9%, 1936-1939 49.6%, 1940 - 22.7%. The Gain of the USA in culturally & technically educated emigrants from Germany is even today incalculable.

Palestine, under english mandate after 1920, until 1932 had a very minor role as emigration destination for german jews.

Between 1933 & 1936 an average of 7,000 german jews emigrated to Palestine since in this country they could salvage most of their assets most easily. Occupationally it looked very bad for the emigrants. The land needed farmers, artisans, drivers, laborers. But the german jews were mostly merchants or academicians. A change in occupation was alregey inescapable. After 1937 thie emigration went down to 3,600 jews. Arab circles influenced the german & english governments to stop this mass emigration.

The age-grouping in Efringen-Kirchen 1936 - 1938 is interesting for the now beginning flight. 1936 Kirchen had 52 jewish inhabitants. 23% were of the 30-year old group, ca. 29% were over 60, 48% were between 30 & 60.

1938 only saw 31 jews living there: Agegroup 30 - under 10%. But over 55% were over 60.

The population pyramid of Kirchen stood on it's head. The year 1938, particularly after the occurrences of the Kristallnacht on 9 Nov. 1938, opened the eyes of the most unseeing to the intentions of the National Socialists.

The Reichspogromnacht of 9 November 1938

P.99 The 'Alemanne' reports of the 'sponaneous anti-jewish rallies' in the Markgraeflerland.

The so-called 'peoples anger', that expressed itself to the Markgraefler jewish communities, resulting from the assassination of the german embassy councillor vom Rath at Paris, demonstrated clearly the unscrupulous fanaticism of the Nazis as shown in the headline of the Oberbadischen Volksblatt of 11 Nov. 1938.

In Kirchen too the synagogue and the schoolbuildings were heavily damaged,

'apparently by strangers', probably SA or SS under leadership of the then Buergermeister of Haltingen; the male jews were arrested by the Gestapo and taken to KZ Dachau, where after a number of weeks they were allowed to return home.

The 'Oberbadisches Volksblatt' reported:

Kirchen, 12 November. Outraged over the cowardly jewish murder in Paris the local synagogue here was destroyed. The books and documents therein were seized. During the search two 'Schaechtmesser' (butcher knives for ritual slaughter-tr) were found that should have been surrendered after the law regulating ritual slaughtering. The male jews still resident here were taken in to protective custody. - The Schaechtmesser were surrendered to the Rathaus in Kirchen after the anti-schaechten law April 1933. (Report of Mr. Alfred Rosenberg.)

What exactly ahppened during these activities probably remains in the dark. What is established is that a party formation from Haltingen led by that Buermeister plundered the synaogue, threw ritual articles and dishes from the former teachers dwelling into the street and neighboring gardens, and destroyed the sanctuary. To what extent the local population participated is uncertain. The jews of Kirchen were herded together and had to witness the destruction of their house of God. The eight-grade of the Volksschule was led to the destroyed synagogue the next morning..

Men were taken into 'protective custody' and taken to KZ Dachau. "The male jews were first taken from their homes during the midday hours of 8-10 November 1938 by Gestapo and other party units and taken to the jail at Loerrach. They were allowed to take a small quantity of clothing and minor articles. From there they were transported by truck to Dachau. After ca.6-8 weeks these jews returned to their homes. The folllwoing Kirchen jews were included:

Alexander Bloch, Samuel Braunschweig, Jonas Olesheimer, Veist Bloch, Samuel Moses I, Alfred Weil, Marx Braunschweig, Samuel Moses II, Lehmann Wormser.

In neighboring Loerrach the events took a similar course.

P.100 - top to bottom:

The November pogrom in Loerrach: The destroyed interior fo the synagogue.

The former north-side of the new Marktplatz. The light building is the synagogue shortly before demolition, next to it the Judenschule and the shed of house Teichstr.17. Demolished 1939/40.

After the demolition of the synagogue.

P.101 Oberbad.Volksblatt - 11 & 12 Nov.1938

Kirchen after bombardment 1940.

The ruins of the synagogue of Kirchen were totally destroyed during the bombardment of 1940 and demolished totally later on.
 These events gave the remaining Jews of Kirchen impetus to emigrate, even though they did not want to leave their homes at any price.

P. 102 Former location of synagogue, Kirchen
 Emigration from the Jewish Community Kirchen.
 The following emigrated 1933 - 1941 from Baden & Wurttemberg:

(see table - center, P.102)

In Kirchen the major emigration, with 53.6% of all emigrants, was 1938. 92.7% of all willing to emigrate left before 1939, whereas for B. & W. only 67% emigrated. Reasons for the relative early emigration may have been the nearness of France & Switzerland, particularly the connections with friends & relatives living abroad.

Where did the individual Kirchen Jews go in the particular years: USA leads with about 64%, followed by France with 7 (17%) and Switzerland with 6 (15%).

P.102 -bottom: Chart showing years & destinations of emigration
 For the Kircheneers the observation that in the first years of the repressions, 1933 - 1935, the young & youngest Jews emigrated, and as things got worse the older Jews strove for emigration, does not apply.

P.103 to top of P.106: Illustrated listing of emigrants & destinations.
 (Not included in the above list are the family Alperowitz, who had lived in Muellheim for over 10 years and emigrated from there).

The total of 41 persons who left Kirchen 1933 - 1940 totally disrupted the life of the congregation. So no worship was held any more, the synagogue was destroyed. Leopold Braunschweig (pic.P.106) functioned as cantor & teacher, but left July 1938.

The number of laws promulgated after the Kristallnacht of 9 Nov.1938 literally tripped over each other. The Jews were prohibited to enter: Theater, cinemas, exhibitions, concerts, cabarets, Museums, restaurants, public baths, sports events & areas, etc. In fact parts of a town or community could be declared 'Sperrbezirke' (closed areas-tr) to Jews (Judenbann - ban on Jews-tr)
 Jews had to give up their drivers licenses & vehicle registrations. They were forced to turn in radios, electrical appliances, typewriters, bicycles, woolen clothing, even extra clothing, without compensation. Telephones were cancelled. The use of public phone booths was forbidden as well as the use of public transportation. They were no longer allowed to buy newspapers, children were not allowed to attend public or private schools or universities. In the law re tenancy of Jews of 30 April 1939 rent and dwelling protection was cancelled.

Jews could be forced to house strange jews in their dwellings. Jewish owners of houses could only rent to other jews. Later jews would be displaced from their dwellings and jammed tightly in so-called 'Judenhaeuser'. The ghetto of the middle ages reentered Germany. The fate of Frau Hammel illustrates this. In August 1939 she wanted to move from Offenburg to Kirchen. This was denied as 'not in the interest of the community', she should seek a jewish dwelling at Offenburg.

On 3 Sept.1939 the civilian population of the markgraefer villages close to the Rhine were evacuated, including Kirchen's entire population. The jews were sent primarily to Konstanz, a small number to Schopfheim. In December the civil population was allowed to return to Kirchen and other villages, but not the jews. They lived in Konstanz, mostly in the Taegermosstr., Doebele-Str., Sigismund-Str. & Rheingasse near the destroyed synagogue. If they wanted to go after their things or look after their still not confiscated houses, the needed a permit from the Landrat, and had to check in with the town office coming & going. Rent was not paid for the abandoned properties, even tho most were occupied, and they had to pay rent in Konstanz or wherever.

A decree of the Reichsminister for food & agriculture required that all farmlands still in 'Judenhaenden' be sold to farmers immediately. The Buergermeisteramt advised: The jewish-owned parcels, meadows and fields are small parcels in various locations, are not suitable for settlement, and at best can be sold to farmers or abutting neighbors. A sale of these properties is currently impossible since at the moment the real estate market is totally quiescent in this borderzone.

On 6 Febr.1940 Alfred Weil, now resident at Konstanz, requested permission to get his remaining clothes and furniture from his house in Kirchen. He got the permission. But when he was unable to act within the time set the permit expired. He re-applied, giving poor health as reason for previous noncompliance, the Gestapo advised the Landratsamt that couldn't make the decision: "There is no question that the jew Weil in old jewish method wants to exploit the courtesy of the authorities".

Kirchen became 'judenrein' thru wartime con ditions. The Gau Baden was soon to follow.

P.107 Gauleiter Wagner at Schloss Roettlen - 1934

With the victory over France Gauleiter Robert Wagner of Baden saw the possibility to solve the 'Judenfrage' in his Gau (district-tr) once & for all. In the arbitrary reading by the armistice commission in Wiesbaden under General v. Stuelpnagel and the french delegation under General Huntzinger i.e the regime

at Vichy to permit the transfer of all jews from Alsace & Lorraine to the unoccupied France, Gauleiter Wagner of Baden & Joseph Buerkel (GL of Palatinate & Saarland) in a night & fog operation ordered the deportation of all jews on 22 Oct.1940. With this plan an old established population group was deprived of their homes and expelled from their villages & cities.

5,362 jews of Baden, that is 82.5% of the total of 6,500 expelled jews from the 3 'Gau'e' were quickly exelled, some on such short notice that they couldn't even pack a minimal amount of clothing & belongings, under the limit of 50kg per person as well as 100 RM per person. Driven into trucks they were hauled to the nearest collection point where special trains were sent to France via Belfort.

P.108 Notice of completion of expulsion of Jews from Baden & Pfalz

Jews of the Markgraeflerland were assembled on the Loerrach Marktplatz on 22 Oct.1940, taken by trucks to trains in Freiburg.

As the deportation at Loerrach & Grenzach proceeded, at Kirchen there were no longer any jews resident, documents of the Staatsarchiv Freiburg give us data: Report of the Landratsamt Loerrach of 30 August 1946:

On 22 Oct.1940 all male & female jews with their children, with a small amount of baggage, where during the early morning hours taken from their homes by the Gestapo and other political units and assembled. They were then taken to Freiburg from which they were to be transported to Gurske (!). At the departures hateful gaffers and other similar elements collected and were abusive, stones or similar objects were not thrown at the transport carriages.

The report for Grenzach was: As far as can be ascertained the transport of the two couples Bloch (formerly of Kirchen) was handled by the Gestapo per truck. Furniture, household articles, fabrics (Bloch sold fabrics on the road)were confiscated by the Gestapo, some of which were auctioned off at Grenzach, and the rest carried of per truck.

The destination of this trip was Gurs. A large camp at the foot of the Pyrenees (southern France) erected May 1939 for an expected 7,000 refugees from the spanish civil war by the french government.

The first internees were spanish republican soldiers and anti-fascist civilians, added to this were about 6,000 volunteers of the International Brigade that fought on the republican side. These volunteers came from all parts of Europe, a mixed group, heavily socialist or communist backgrounds. Many fo them couldn't or didn't want to return to their either occupied or totalitarian homelands in Central Europe. Most wanted to take up the fight against Hitler, either as part of the french resistance or their own nation's, often supported from abroad. In the first months of 1940 the camp emptied slowly because the spanish refugees

were employed in construction fo french defense works

or in armaments industry. Some joined the French Foreign Legion in North Africa. After France's defeat June 1940 many spaniards in the french army became prisoners of war. They were later abducted into german KZs with the agreement of the collaborating regime in Vichy.

P.109 Jews deported from Germany to the Pyrenees, 22 Oct.1940
May 1940 the Germans attacked Holland, Belgium, Luxemburg and north-eastern France. Many people, jews, anti-fascists, opposing intellectuals who had already fled from the Nazis, were once again in flight, marked as 'undesirables'. End of October 1940 many of them were interned at Camp de Gurs, together with about 6,500 jews from Baden and the Saarpfalz. Among them were particularly many old people, invalids & children. As France had to bend to the might of Germany and the collaborationist government in Vichy was formed, not only foreign jews were interned but french ones also, i.e. the french opposition to Vichy. The following 28 Kirchner jews were caught up in the Robert Wagner Aktion' and deported to Gurs: see table - P.110.

(the second column is where they were picked up; the 3rd gives their fate- 'cross' denotes death in german usage; verschollen=lost w/o trace)

(This listing concerns native jews of Kirchen or who had married there. Of the 18 deported to Gurs, 8 no longer lived in Kirchen 1939.)

Conditions in Gurs were described by Maurice Meier in his 1946 book: 'Letters to my Son'. I let him speak here since he is closely connected with the former jewish congregation at Kirchen by relationships.

Maurice Meier, born 1893 Nonnenweiler, is a stepson of Sophia Braunschweig of Kirchen, who 1901 married the widowed merchant Max Meier at Nonnenweiler. Of this marriage came a daughter Senta, b.1904, who 1934 emigrated to USA & married there.

P.111 Passportphoto of Maurice Meier

Maurice Meier married Martha Abraham of Rust 1923. Shortly after their marriage they moved to Tiengen/Hochrhein and bought and worked a large farm. Here their two children Ernst & Ilse-Jeanette were born. After Hitler's accession to power they sold their property, the beginning persecution of jews made life untenable there, and in northern France acquired a large farm, formerly part of a monastery St.Redegunde, that they worked with other relatives. 1939 Maurice was interned as enemy alien, was freed a short time later, and after the 1940 occupation of France was re-arrested by german troops and brought to Gurs. Here he met some of his relatives from Kirchen & Nonnenweiler who had just arrived a few days before among the 6,500 jews from Baden and the Palatinate. The letters to his son are from this period, which aside from depicting the horrible situation are a pedagogic attainment of the first rank.

The entire family Meier was killed at Auschwitz. He himself was able to flee to Switzerland 1944, and 1946 emigrated to the USA physically & psychically broken. (Re the life and fate of this family see chapter:Traces & Fates).

Maurice Meier reports:

".... lonely, like a ship on the ocean, this camp Gurs is located in a treeless and unshaded region. From a distance one sees the Tricolor flying from a high point at the camp entrance. A few meters within the fenced area the cars stopped and we got out. The fright which gripped me on the first view of this camp and while being directed here and there, became less as I heard Baden and Palatinate dialects spoken. The sounds of my native tongue, not heard for so long, gave me a feeling of comfort."

"The barracks assigned to us were empty and without light. So the first night one went to sleep on the bare floor, without beds, in the dark, as well as we could. We moved close together to keep warm. If somebody had to get up during the night for the toilet the whole row moved like an accordion....I will try to describe Gurs. Our barracks is of wood. The walls have cracks of fingers breadth but no slats over them. We stuff (these cracks) with paper and earth & grass. The windowframes have no glass or any other covering. One can close these openings with a wooden shutter, and this we did at night. Daytime, when the shutters are opened, wind and rain come in with the light. The roof is covered with tar paper but torn by the storm. At the soggy spots on the floor one can tell where the leaks are. At each end is a door. Sills lay in the ground. Maybe there was once a wooden floor, and others who here before us, used it for something are burned it in fires to keep warm. Neither table nor chair, no light, bed, stove is here. I estimate that 25-30 barracks stand in the Ilot.

The toilet facility, that can be used by about 15 persons simultaneously, is arranged as sort of a terrace. One climbs up a few steps. This is difficult for foot-amputees, who have to balance on one foot during nature's call. Over a long trough a few water taps are mounted. Here one washes oneself and one's laundry. Daily 250 gr. bread are given, coffee in the mornings, midday & evening meals. Food is picked up in a bucket per barrack from the kitchen.... the Ilot is surrounded with a tightly woven double row of barbed wire. The guard at the entrance only permits entry or exit if one has a pass. We are people of many nations. There might be 2-3% Aryans in our Ilot. The percentage of baptized Jews is larger.....the camp street is about 1½ km long, to the right and left are the Ilots.

P.112 Letter from Gurs, 25 Nov. 1940, from Samuel Braunschweig

P.113 Camp Gurs at the Pyrenees.

- a) Photo
 b) Plan - tr.of table: Barbed wire fence
 Guards quarters
 Administration
 Water reservoir
 1.Camp Administration
 2.Sickbay
 3.Meeting and visiting barrack
 4.Punishment Ilot

One like another are surrounded by double barbed wire. The Ilots have only one exit to the street, guarded day & night. a strip of land, several meters wide, so-called neutral ground, separates one Ilot from another. The whole camp itself is surrounded by a mighty barbed wire fence."

You may have been surprised to receive so much mail from Gurs. Yes, all our relatives and many friends are here, I've spoken to most of them already.... Why didn't they leave Germany? There are many reasons. Some were in KZ Dachau, others couldn't get a passport, all of them lacked the emigration visa for another country, and none of them have anything, became poor due to the confiscation. Noone had any idea of the coming expulsion. They were ordered to be ready to go within an hour, with 30kg baggage....It was permitted to everyone to keep RM 200 in paper. Under threat of being shot to death it was forbidden to take along more money or valuables. Nevertheless many brought jewelry. They had learned that Hitler's minions had a weakness for money and would so do favors. The internees were exploited from all sides and milked like lice by ants..... It is shattering to have to ^{see} how the starved dead bodies, frozen in the morning cold, were loaded on the corpse collection cart and carted off, 10 - 20 people daily. In 24 hours more than earlier in a week. The jewish social service committee, the Quakers and the Swiss Help (Schweizerhilfe) made desperate attempt to curtail the deaths due to hunger and cold, and to some of the needy give extra food.

P.114 Drawing of the Camp Barracks at Gurs.

(upper left) Camp rule: Attempted Flight. - see below:

Escape Attempt - Any escape attempt will be punished by jailterm set by Center director. Prefect will be informed.
 A second attempt will meet double punishment, and if a new attempt is made the internee will be sent to the punishment camp LeVernet.

"The days here are dark & dreary. The dark torn clouds hang deep. The storm howls and shakes the barracks. The incessant rain streams down in close fine threads and soaks the earth. The internees dragging themselves thru the morass are soaked thru, grimy. Thru the rain blown by the wind people look like ghosts in the dusk, shadows of eery dead who in front of our eyes climb from

their tombs. Gurs looks like a terrible 'Leichenfeld' (field of corpses-tr) that smells of putrefaction. Even if I close my eyes I can't escape the spell because the gruesome picture of nameless cruelty goes thru the pores to the inner face.

Diarrhea spreads very quickly in the whole camp and even the strong are beset. The latter die relatively sooner than the emaciated. Many who are so beset can no longer hold themselves on their bent knees on the latrine. These sufferers have paired off. One accompanies the other to the latrine and holds him by the hands. As soon as two such men return to the barracks, the other has to go.... Dozens go back and forth incessantly, one supporting the other, day and night no rest. But there's no other way and it's a sensible cooperation.

At this time we in Gurs are about 7,000 people lost to the world, robbed of all rights internees. In the past weeks an average of 100 people died.

Whoever has seen this picture of the bared, emaciated bodies with dry dead hair can't forget this picture all his life. There are not a few whose skin seems like parchment leaves of old books, or dry and scaly. Many are those whose skin is covered with crust and running sores due to vermin, scratching and dirt.

In every barracks are those lying in the straw who appear to sleep. Hunger makes them dizzy and ill. With most it's matter of a few days until the sleep forever. Since some time one speaks of a new illness that so far has appeared seldom, it's called 'Stacheldrahtfieber' (Barbed Wire Fever-tr). This appears to a fellow sufferer as follows: It's man man of about 55. As usual he walks in the yard along the barbed wire, up & down. Suddenly he remains standing and stares on a point of the wire. Slowly he backs off as from a wild animal. Now the man ducks as tho to jump. With wide open eyes, with a speed belying his years, he jumps to the barbed wire, grabs it with both hands and shakes it as tho he were throttling a being by the throat, fighting for life & death. Finally he bites into the barbed wire. After about five minutes he collapses, bleeding from hand and mouth. When he regained consciousness he remembered nothing.

From my letters and all others you know how bad things are here at Gurs. That was once upon a time. Now it cannot be reported. The stones sob and the earth cries to it's creator of the more than animal coarseness with which the heartless jailors treat their internees, starve & exploit them. What earlier on few said is now the wish of almost all, to be as well treated as the pigs, so much straw and their feed.....

1941 conditions in Gurs improved slightly. Thru relatives living in other

countries many of the deportees were able to obtain emigration permits to another country. A part of the prisoners in Gurs were moved to new camps in the vicinity, such as Noe, Rivesaltes & Recebédou.

August 1942 many of the survivors in Gurs were sentenced to death by means of deportation to Auschwitz. Heydrich, Eichmann and their comrades, by relentless pressure on the Petain regime, managed to deport thousands of former German Jews to the death-camps Auschwitz & Lublin-Majdanek, via the transit camp at Drancy. The implementation of the so-called Endlösung was in progress administratively albeit unconsciously in France since 1940. Foreign Jews had been interned in camps since fall 1940. In both occupied and un-occupied France all Jews were listed. These measures were added to with the German orders for deportation to the east beginning March 1942. The French police assisted the Germans with the agreement of Vichy. 40,000 Jews were to be brought to Auschwitz from France for 'Arbeitseinsatz' (work-tr), as atonement for attacks on members of the Wehrmacht, as desired by the German military commander Genl. Otto v. Stuepnagel.

The Vichy government assisted with this program. They wanted to influence the treatment of French POWs in German hands, and at the same time secure their existence by cooperating with the Germans. The Jews from the un-occupied zone were loaded into German freight cars at the demarcation line, and from the central collection camp Drancy transported to the east. On 5 August 1942 the trains were made up of cattle cars in the area of the southern French camps. On orders of the prefect the camp authorities (Lagerleiter-tr) kept the first destination, Drancy, secret. Rolf Weinstock, one of the few deportees to have survived Auschwitz, in his 1948 published notes accurately remembers the departure from Gurs:

"On 5 August I was called to the usual camp conference.....then found that as usual a pleasant visit took place. Two masters of music and a (fem) singer entertained us with grand things ...Suddenly the door was torn open. We looked up in surprise. The singer broke off. With a frightened look and gestures she pointed to the door....There stood two men dressed in new black uniforms. One of these men had a thick silver cord hanging over his shoulder. With sharply fixed eyes they glared at us.....A menetekel - SS! We asked ourselves, only with our eyes- the lips were firmly shut. The men looked at us boldly.-Stocky, heavy forms. Like animals ready to jump they stood there....Over the shoulders of these two the director of the camp looked into our room and said: Carry on. With quavering voice the singer finished her song. - When is the hour that brings our leaving? - Was it already here? - The hour - Was it again: go further? ...Heimatlos, unprotected - to somewhere?

The following day the camp was surrounded by the Garde Mobile, things looked terrible. Those affected had to wait for hours for the transport. Mountains of suitcases and bags lay on the street. People overnight became old & gray. The worst were those whose families were torn asunder. Soon the rumor appeared that Poland was the destination. Many internees suspected that the official reason for their trip - Arbeitseinsatz - or reuniting of families, was not true. & the move into a better camp hardly made sense.

At Gurs, -similar to other camps, a sort of suicide epidemic broke out. All saw devastation. Nobody wanted to go into the uncertain.... In a few hours the hospital was overfull of people who had tried to cut their throats or their wrists, and were saved only at the last moment from bleeding to death. And the commander of the Sipo-SD in his 'secret directions for the evacuation of jews' of 20 July 1942 specifically recommended 'before a transport leaves a thorough search of the jews be made for weapons, munitions, explosives, poisons..... The prefects had given these precise orders to the Lagerleiter. Horror and terror filled the people, when they noticed at the demarcation line, at Chalons-sur-Saone, that the transport wagons came into the part of France occupied by german troops. "We couldn't, and didn't want to believe it", Rolf Weinstock reported after the war, 'that we are to back into the hands of the barbarians, back to Hitler and his bandits. Even tho Germany was our Heimat, we had lost all hope, never to step on german soil again until Germany was free again & Hitler destroyed. These feelings were shared not only by those driven from Baden, but all other refugees from Germany & Austria. Could this be the humanity of Germany to conquer the world in the name of it's culture? That this was the true face of Hitler Germany many realized only on the trip to destruction in the east.

Of the 28 deported to Gurs 3 survived = 10.7%. 8 died at Gurs = 28.5%, the rest, 16 = 60.7% were dragged around various camps and there found death.

From Gurs 14 persons, 50%, were transported & died at Auschwitz.

One person came into the neighboring camp Noe, who also died.

I was unable to find any date regarding the fate of Lehmann Wormser. Probably he perished in a camp.

P.117 The Camp Cemetary at Gurs.

The Extermination Camps:

The most horrible feeling of humans connecting a name with a place must be Auschwitz. So much has already been written, talked and cried about Auschwitz that it is not the purpose of this work to add thereto. But there 16 Kirchen jews lost their lives. Reason enough to cite from Kogon's 'SS State': The large gassing complex at Auschwitz, more precisely at Birkenau that was part of Auschwitz, comprised with 5 modern crematories, 4 below-ground gas bunkers with a capacity of 1,200 to 1,500 people. The 5th crematory did not have an oven, but rather a gigantig burning pit. The naked victims were placed at the edge and shot by the SS so that the cadaver - or the wounded! - fell into the pit.... Teh gassing complex was very simple and yet clever. The equipment looked like a bath and was named as such to the victims. In a dressing room was written in the main european languages that one was to lay down one's clothes in an orderly manner and to tie the shoes together so they wouldn't get lost. After the bath hot coffee would be served....depending on the amount of gas on hand death by suffocation took 4 - 5 minutes.....

Following this the prisoners of the Sonderkommando pulled out the corpses, took off their rings and cut off their hair, that, collected in sacks was sent to factories for utilisation....

Gassed in Auschwitz were primarily jews of all european countries that came under Hitler's sway....The maximum production of 34,000 human beings was achieved in a continous day & night run....

At this place, that was more horrible than human phantasy can imagine, 16 people from Kirchen were murdered:

P.118 Acte de Disparition. Missing Person notice re Margot Braunschweig

P.119 Last Letter of Margot Braunschweig to her grandmother, written 2 days before her arrest

P.119 - see list of deportees (with name index numbers)

Probably all of these listed were taken to Auschwitz from Gurs 10 Aug.1942.

By 3 September 9,000 jews from the un-occupied part of France had been brought to the camp Drancy near Paris, and from there shipped east, largely to Auschwitz where they found their deaths. Of the 4,464 jews expelled from Baden to Gurs, 2,038 were abducted to Auschwitz & Lublin-Majdanek. 99.4% persihed.

Theresienstadt - Old Age Home for Jews of the Reich. More cynically this transit camp to the great extermination camps, located where the Eger river joins the Elbe river, could not be named. The former garrison twon was heavily fortified, ideally situated and easily guarded by the SS. For the old people, who expected an appropriate housing & lifetime care with their 'Heimeinkaufsvertraege'

(contracts to purchase lifetime housing and care-'buying into a home-tr') paid for with their last resources it was certainly not advantageous. On a small space of ca.44 Ha stood huge barracks which on average had 53,000 people jammed into them. In spite of all propaganda to the effect that the SS ran an old people's home, Theresienstadt being named 'jewish settlement area', and the deportation there being classified as a simple move, this camp from the beginning was built as a transit camp for the extermination camps. The lack of the most elementary things, such as bedsteads, oven (heaters), running water, in addition to the terrible lack of space - 1.6 sqm. per person - brought epidemic illnesses with it. So the time during which 5 Kirchener jews who were deported to Theresienstadt, August 1942, fell into the time of such mass dying.

The five (above) were placed in this transport at Frankfurt: Frida Moses, who had been active in the Rothschild Old Age Home, together with her mother Bertha & sister Elsa, as well as the inhabitants of the home, were taken to Theresienstadt. Babette & Salomon Bloch, who at that time lived at Frankfurt, were also taken on that transport. Salomon Bloch, for many years head of the jewish congregation at Kirchen, died at Th. 12 Sept.1942.

On 23, 26, & 29 September 1942, almost 6,000 people were transported east in a large action, for extermination. In SS-jargon they were taken to another 'Versorgungsghetto' (care ghetto-tr). Probably this transport included Elsa & Frida Moses who found death somewhere in the east.

At the turn of 1942/43 only about a third of those abducted to Theresienstadt in August were still alive. The chances of survival varied from one transport to another. The later a transport got there the greater the chance of survival.

P.120 KZ Theresienstadt (Alley 08)

P.120 - 125: Listing & details of eventual deaths.

The over 200-year old history of the jewish congregation of Kirchen ended in murder & terror.

Of the then emigrees and survivors of the deportation camps death has spared few today. This book is primarily for them.

The following table once again shows in dry numbers the path of the Jewish Congregation of Kirchen from 1933 to it's total loss:

1933	jews living in Kirchen	64 persons
1933-40	born	4
1935	moved in	1
Of the deportees (s/) no longer in kirchener		15
Of the 41 emigrants, 2 were deported & counted twice		3
Total		85 Jews

Of these taken to Gurs 1940	28 persons
Direct to Auschwitz	2 "
" " Theresienstadt	5
" " Izbica	2
" " Majdanek	1
Died before 20 Oct.1940	6
Emigrated	41
	<hr/>
	- 0 -

Traces and Fates:

Many readers of the first & second edition of this book missed the listing of individual, their families and their fates.

In 1978 efforts were made to include biographical details of former Kirchen jews, but never got far: the almost indescribable horror made this difficult to then list the fates of these people.

In this new edition an attempt is made to give details of the lives and fates of the Kirchen jews or those originally from there.

- 1) The family Philipp Moses left Kirchen and moved to Muellheim before the turn of the century. Both sons served in WWI as officers/Warrant officers. None of the 5 children was to survive the 'Third Reich'.
2. Dr.Samuel Moses attended elementary school at Kirchen. Later he was a physician at Loerrach and founded the children's home "Am Blauenblick". 1938 he was able to flee with his family to USA, and there aged 56 had to start anew.
3. Maurice Meier never lived in Kirchen. His stepmother, Sophie Braunschweig, was from Kirchen. He survived the 'portal of hell Gurs' and is known as author of valuable books about this horrible camp.
4. With Emma & Jonas Olesheimer as well as Ida Braeunlin nee Olesheimer and their son Herbert the fate of a whole family is related, who had to undergo all horror until personal extinction. Herbert Baeunlin, half jew, the only survivor, relates the family's life & death in his unpublished autobiography.
5. Sophie Kessler-Braunschweig with her parents and siblings emigrated to USA 1938. She related her family history in a letter.
6. Nathan Moses, attorney at Karlsruhe, and head of the Jewish Agency, died in a hospital near Gurs. His wife Betty was murdered at Auschwitz. The two daughters Hanna & Susanne managed to flee to Switzerland.

The Family Philipp Moses.

In 1899 the then 52-year old cattle dealer Philipp Moses and his wife Klara nee Heim (48) and their five children Rebekka, called 'Berthe' (18), Lina (16), Samuel (11), Mina (9) & Julius (7) left Kirchen and after the death of the in-laws moved into the birth-house of Klara at Muellheim. The Heims were an old

Muellheim family. The own house and the better business opportunity in Muellheim were decide for the not easy decision to move with a large family.

P.127 Philipp Moses with son Samuel in front of house,Hauptstr.109, Muellheim. (*)

Philipp & Klara Moses with daughter Mina.

The Moses house at Muellheim.

(*) Tr.lived at Hauptstr.107; steps of which are visible on left.

These were years when the germans lived peacefully in their empire, when Rebekka married to Strassburg, Samuel completed highschool (Einjaehriges) & became businessman, and Julius after the Eijaehrigen Exam at the Muellheim Realschule completed business apprenticeship after completion of business college. This was in 1912, and Julius, owning a 'Heimatschein' (pers.ID-tr) of the Grand Duchy of Baden went to work in Switzerland.

Two years later peace ended, and Samuel & Julius had to go to the Western Front. At least the 22-year old Julius was gripped by the patriotic fervor, and March 1915 he reported to hsi parents in detail of the heavy storm attack and trench fighting at the Loretto Heights in Flanders, where he was in the first line.... On 3 March 6AM positions for attack were assumed. & AM sharp the first french trench blew up and at the same moment the storm columns left their trenches.... we ran over them in a heap and took many prisoners, machine guns, mortars, and various small artillery. It went forward like in August & September.... For his bravery & courage Julius received the silver service medal in addition to the Iron Cross, but against this was a terrible account of his company. Thirty dead and as many wounded, among them the captain and the lieutenant. Julis remained at the front until war's end and was demobilized as Feldwebel 9 April 1920 at Rastatt.

P.128 Certificate for Iron Cross II

" " Silver Medal

Julius Moses

P.129 Discharge of Julius Moses from Army

Rebekka (Berthe)

Samuel Moses (sitting) as Prisoner of War

Julius Moses with first automobile

Samuel, who entered service as reserve officer became a french POW in 1915 and ahd to wait almost 4 years to war's end. Fortunately during this time he had contact with hsi family by mail. Particularly his sister Berthe sent him fotos with words of encouragement. As thanks he presented himself as 'Prisonnier de guerre', not very martial in spite of officers cap and markings, but much more simpathetic.

The two brothers now had to find a civilian existence again. But Samuel, who returned home to Muellheim - listed in the Muellheim business directory 1931 as tobacco products wholesaler, and lived in the parental home with his

unmarried sister Mina. But the more adventurous Julius did not right off return to Muellheim. 1921 he is in Berlin, 1922 as travelling salesman for the firm Bloch-Braun-Mercerie of Zurich, and 1928 at Stuttgart where he married Frä. Johanna Wunderlich of Plauen im Vogtland.

The first boycott of Jewish businesses in 1933 hit Julius so hard that he moved to Mulhouse in Alsace and later moved to Belfort. He was unable to obtain a residence permit in neither city. Therefore they had to return to Germany 1934, lived in Weil am Rhein until on 1 Nov. 1935 they finally emigrated to Dijon. About the same time Samuel moved to Troyes and Mina moved to her sister Berthe, whose marriage was meanwhile ended, at Strassburg. The parental in the Muellheim Hauptstr. was sold under 'Grundstuecksentjudung' forcibly, shortly before outbreak of WW2.

P.130 Berthe with family for her aunt (mother's side) Stern at Muernberg. In this manufacturing family sister Lina (Lilly) spent most of life. Later she was treated by cousin Dr. Samuel Moses (Loerrach) until her death at Muellheim 1935.

Berthe, like all French people in the border areas, was evacuated to the interior of France, Mina too had to leave Strassburg. The two men Samuel & Julius were, irregardless of their legal emigrant status, interned as subjects of an enemy government. Both were sent to the internment camp Marmagne in the Dept. Cote d'Or, situated in a romantic region near the famous Abbey Fontenay, in the midst of large forests in which the internees had to work. There Julius, both for his knowledge of languages as well as his military experience as 'mother of the company' was named 'chef de groupe allemand', that judging by a handwritten list by Julius Moses consisted almost entirely of Jews.

"Le moral est bon. Les gens se sont mieux adaptés à leur nouvelle situation" he wrote 15 Oct. 1939 in his report to the French administration, one made the best of things.

There was enough space and straw for sleeping, food was decent, but one wanted boards, nails, wire to build a ceiling - the men froze in the high-ceilinged poorly heated rooms, one wanted supplies to install electric light, the men had to get ready for work in the dark, one needed warm clothes, blankets, shoes in particular, because shoes suffered working in the woods, one wanted permission for musical instruments and to teach languages, because there were musicians and teachers in the camp, and finally one wanted first aid supplies for the little injuries work in the woods caused, and medicine, there were enough sick people in the camp. Samuel too must have been ill, one frequently reads his name in the infirmary lists. But visits became possible. Frau Hanna Moses at Dijon received a 'Sauf-Conduit' (pass-tr) for a trip to the camp "voir son mari detenu au camp de Marmagne", with the note to take the shortest route.

French citizens made guarantees for the internees, industry certified their essentiality: one needs men, who often had lived in France for many years and worked there. The situation would have been grotesque if with ongoing time the situation of the emigrants hadn't become more precarious.

Passover 1940: The Jews in the camp had contact with French Jewish congregations. Thru Rabbi Munk of Paris, who later became a victim of persecution himself, one could obtain for the strict believers in the camp Mazzos, kosher meat, wine and other kosher foods for the festival. Once more one could celebrate together, worship - for many it may have been the last time.

A few weeks later the Germans had marched into France.... 'it went forward like in August & September'. If Julius remembered his words of 1915, if he had ever thought that the welfare of German patriots of 1914/18 would depend on the fortune of war of the former opponent? This fortune of war did not occur, the camp was near the front, probably there there were signs of dissolution as is known from so many other reports. Julius fled and suddenly appeared in Dijon with his wife, whereas the trace of Samuel was lost for a time. Dijon was occupied. After 10 days the couple Moses was noticed to appear at the German city commandatura. Julius didn't wait for that, he left his wife in order to spare her a life of constant fear & flight from the persecutors, and because he felt a better chance to survive alone.

He managed to reach unoccupied France. He managed to stay at Macon for over two years, while his wife as 'Rueckwanderer' (returnee-tr) after 7 years abroad was taken 'heim ins Reich': to Muellheim, Goethestr.15. With this contact to her husband was broken and only after the war she heard the following:

As the Germans entered the free zone of France the mesh of the net decreased.

19 Febr. 1943 Julius was arrested by the Gestapo in Macon and first sent to camp Gurs. 26 Febr. already he was sent to the notorious camp Drancy near Paris, from where he was deported to Lublin-Majdanek 4 March 1943. Already 31 August 1942 Samuel, and two days later Mina, were sent from Drancy to Auschwitz. On 13 April 1944 Berthe too had to take this road.

P.131 Julius Moses, 1925, during a parade in Muellheim.

Dr. Samuel Moses

An entirely different fate befell the 5 Dec. 1882 cousin of the just described sibling Moses, the born in Kirchen Samuel Moses.

The fathers were brothers. Just a Philipp Moses (150.0) moved to Muellheim at the turn of the century so did Jakob Moses (151.0), to neighboring Loerrach. Of the marriage with Maria Guggenheim were three children. Samuel born 1882, Regine 1884 and Rosa 1885, who 1910 married the fur dealer Alfred Weil, lived at Kirchen until deported, and murdered at Auschwitz.

Memorialized to the present is Jakob Moses on a tablet set into the churchyard wall at Kirchen listing the veterans of the Franco/Prussian war of 1870/71, ..

and the graves of the couple in the Jewish cemetery at Loerrach.

Until summer 1892 Samuel Moses attended the Volksschule Kirchen and on 5 Sept. 1892 entered the Sexta of the Hebelgymnasium at Loerrach. School documents show him as a very good student. Twice he won a school prize. 1897/8 he was promoted to Sekunda with a prize, 1899 he won the class prize. 1901 he passed the Abitur as best in class.

Already during schooling he was determined to study medicine. He matriculated in medicine at the universities of Freiburg, Munich & Berlin. After graduation he was called into service with the fighting troops as Stabsarzt (captain-tr). At the end of the war he returned to Loerrach decorated with the EK1, where he settled as general practitioner.

The misery, the need, the suffering of the post-war years and particularly his pity for orphaned children gave him the idea to found a children's & infants home. He led this home from 1918, a house Herrenstr.8, but that soon was too small. On 11 Nov. 1926 he was able to move the children's home into the Villa 'Am Blauenblick' at Untereck 8, purchased & provided by the city of Loerrach. He served the city children's and infants home as doctor.

P.132 Children's Home 'Am Blauenblick'

1920 he married Mina Guenzburger who bore him 2 sons, Alfred who worked as atomic physicist in California, and Bernhard who directed a large city housing project in Brooklyn, NY.

Since 1919 Dr. Moses was actively concerned for the official affairs of Loerrach and joined the German Democratic Party and the same year was voted by the local citizens to the city council, to which he belonged until its dissolution 1933.

P.132 Addressbook Loerrach 1928

On 18 April 1933 Dr. Moses was forced to relinquish his work at the children's home after the boycott of April. On this same day a letter reached him from the Bürgermeister Dr. Grasser informing that his medical supervision of the children's home was to end April 15, 1933, and at the same time thanked him for the town council for his years of service.

P.133 Letter relieving Dr. Moses from service at 'Blauenblick'

Letter forbidding further medical practice, s.b. Bürgermeister Boos

Dr. Samuel Moses & wife in USA

Headline from Oberbadisches Volksblatt: Dr. Moses remembered
by the old citizens - commendable service in Loerrach

For the Jews a difficult, tragic time began under the NS regime, they were forced to live a life shadowed by death - so too Dr. Moses & family. 1938 he decided - 'just in time' - after much thought, to emigrate to the USA with his family.

In Loerrach he left behind his life's work in order to start over again in America. In the states he had to take the prescribed examination and passed in 1939. Now he again worked as doctor. Of this time in his life Dr. Moses himself said: "It was difficult, here, in a foreign country, with a foreign language, to build a new practice".

The contact between the people of Loerrach and the Moses family never broke off, and therefore everyone was affected when son Alfred Moses advised Buergermeister Hugenschmidt of his father's death. Dr. Moses died 21 January 1969, aged 87, of a stroke.

The person of Dr. S. Moses is typical for the Jewish citizenry to 1933. His work at Loerrach as helper of humanity, friend of the poor and the troubled, as a public person, remains unforgettable.

Maurice Meier

With the name Maurice (Moritz) Meier we speak of the life & fate of a Jew not born in Kirchen, and who never lived there. And yet his ties with the Jewish community of Kirchen was strong. His step-mother, Sophie Braunschweig (95.0) of Kirchen married 1901 the widower Max Meier of Nonnenweiler. His son Maurice was from his first marriage with Jeanette Baum. 1904's daughter Senta was born of the new marriage. Sophie Meier nee Braunschweig in 1938 moved to her daughter in USA and died there 1961.

The life story of Maurice Meier, b. 19 Aug. 1893 at Nonnenweiler, who with his family was particularly hard hit by the NS persecutions, also belongs to the story of the Jews of Kirchen. In 2 of his books he tells of his shattering life. Dieter Petri in his examination "Die Tiengener Juden" wrote Maurice Meier's life history. I follow his biography.

"Tiengen was the name of the city in which we lived. It's a small city near the Swiss border, with the whispering firs of the Black Forest at its back and the roaring waters of the Upper Rhine at its feet, and in the distance the panorama of the Swiss Alps. It was a peaceful and friendly place in those days, daytimes a busy trading center, evenings an idyllic country place, a place where the noise of trade and industry competed with the cries of roosters & cowbells". With this mental picture Meier begins in his book 'Refuge' of life at Tiengen in the twenties. Meier, who in 1983 celebrated his 90th birthday, came to Tiengen 1926 with wife and son. At that time his assessment was still true: 'Generally Christians and Jews lived together peacefully. The Jews honored the Christian neighbors by decorating their house for Christmas, Easter & Pentecost, and many a Christian house was decorated with greenery on Sukkos.'

After the end of WWI, in which Meier fought on the German side, he settled in nearby Griessen as farmer and cattle dealer.

1923 he married Martha Abraham from Rust near Lahr, near his own birthplace, Nonnenweiler. The Griessen village band, led by it's conductor & Buergermeister, honored the young couple, the only jews in town, with a serenade.

Soon contacts were formed to the jewish congregation at Tiengen. A year later Frau Meier founded a synagogue choir at Tiengen. When the family Sauter of Tiengen, non-jewish friends of the Meiers, gave up their farm in order to emigrate to the USA, the Meiers bought the place and moved to Tiengen. At that time Sauter opined to Meier at the time he'd do better emigrating to the USA. The prophet of doom was to prove correct.

Two children came of this marriage, Ernst, still born at Griessen, and Ilse-Jeanette born 1927 at Tiengen.

Meiers worked ambitiously. The small number of cattle increased finally to 23, 19 of them milch cows. Meiers lived from the sale of milk to a dairy and to private customers and cattle trading. 2 farm laborers and a day laborer helped. For ease of travel Meier had a car - at that time still extra ordinary. In spite of hard work business & work did not rule life. Evenings were spent with house music. Frau Meier sat at the piano and one of teh children played violin. It was part of her temper, that Frau Meier on sabbath cooked for less well-situated fellow jews such as Ida Guggenheimer or Marie Levi, but also for non-jewish neighbors, and also invited them to meals.

On an early saturday morning in spring 1933, Meier, who was jsut milking his cows in the stable, heard unusual movement on the street. The Tiengen nazis celebrated the power take-over with a parade, on foot, on horse, and on rattling motorcycles. Meier did not let this disrupt the rythm of his work. He filled the milk in the cans, loaded the cart, and together with his son went on the street direction dairy. But immediately they were stopped by brownshirts and sent back. They obeyed the new 'rulers', turned around, and bitterly fed the milk to the cows and calves this morning.

Below Meier's house the nazis set up a target range with a tablet, with easily readable wording: Exercise eye and hand for the fatherland. As targets they had mounted life-size caricatures of Tiengen jews.

A little later there was a knock on the door. It was SS men. They wanted Meier to turn over all letters and photos of Albert Leo Schlageter. The latter was a wartime comrade of Meier. After the war Schlageter was a member of the illegal 'Black Reichswehr'. When Schalgeter was arrested because of a sabotage act against the french in the Ruhr area, a french military court sentenced him to death by firing squad.

The Nazis celebrated Schlageter as a fighter for the fatherland, even tho he, according to Meier, for various reasons never found hsi way back to civilian life:

and unwillingly was active in the underground. Meier's contact with the former lieutenant were a thorn in the nazis' eyes. For this reason they sought to erase all connection with the jew by destroying these documents. Meier gave up only a few letters and photos showing him together with Schlageter, but retained a number of document. The SS men noticed this and left unsatisfied. They wanted to get the rest another time.

In the afternoon of this miserable day a poor woman of Tiengen came to their house. She was used to eating at Meier's on Saturdays. Even now, as the jews of Tiengen were threatened, she wanted to stand with the Meiers. But the brown guards held her back and referred her to a party field kitchen. The woman would not be scared off, and remarked heatedly: Today your field kitchen is here, but yesterday and all the days before you never looked at me and tomorrow you'll have forgotten me. Get out of the way. Spoke and went thru the door. Night didn't bring Meiers any peace. From a neighboring tavern, favored by the nazis the heard in gruesome boisterousness the song: When jew's blood drips off the knife, it'll go twice as well.

Teh following monday the nazis introduced new customs at the Volksschule. The students were no longer to greet their teachers with 'Guten Morgen, Herr Lehrer', but with 'Heil Hitler' and stretch out the arm. Ernst Meier, the only jew in the class, had to remain seated during this new ceremonial.

End of May Ernst's class looked forward to a class excursion. On the morning of the stated day Ernst took his rucksack and cheerfully went across the street to the schoolyard which was to be the meeting place. An hour later his father found him there, lonely and bereft, after a neighbor called. The face scratched, the hands bloody, clothing torn, and the lunch was on the ground. The class teacher, a party member, had declared before the assembled class that jews were unwanted. When Ernst then wanted to run off, the teacher set the class after him. They were to beat him so that in future he was never to think even of coming to school. The class jumped on Ernst - the rowdies first. Most of them had just a few weeks ago been to the first Holy Communion.

Meier's complaint to the principal was useless. He said he was powerless versus a colleague who is party member. So he took his son out of the school. The fanatical teacher had achieved his goal.

From this time on Meiers thought of emigration. However they believed they could sell everything in an orderly manner and so move in 'good order'. But it came otherwise.

One evening, quite late, the phone rang. The caller excitedly told of a grouping of nazis in front of a non-jew who criticised Hitler. The caller feared that the man might be taken into protective custody, in order to ^ereestablish peace & quiet

according to nazi parlance. It was feared that Meier might be on the list too. Meier quickly packed a few things and per car headed towards the swiss border. From Koblenz (tr: must mean Konstanz) he phoned his wife. Shortly thereafter there was knocking at the door. When she opened the door SS-men wanted the jew-Meier. Disappointed by his absence she demanded the surrender of all letters and photos of Schlageter as well as all papers reminiscent on Meier's military service. Frau Meier freely gave them the 'hot' material. But the SS were angry. They knew somebody must have warned Meier.

That same night Meier drove to Zurich, to the sister of his wife, a prosperous Rothschild. A few days later his wife and the two children followed.

Informed of the flight, the Bezirksamt Waldshut pondered if the refugees were to lose their german citizenship. The town office Tiengen was to examine the business and political past of Meier. In the reply of the town office his assets were noted as RM 27,000. I mention this because many like to twaddle of 'fantastic' jewish richness. Meier on his own made exact accountings of his income and expenses as well as he could from memory, without his papers. In his letter is noticeable how one or the other debtor could 'hit the jewish business man over the ear' in the new era. The official propaganda with the phrase 'Gemeinnutz geht vor Eigennutz' (The gneral good precedes the individual-tr), encouraged such an attitude.

Meier had bought a cow from a farmer in Rotzingen for cash and resold same to one at Oberlauchringen - a normal transaction for a cattle dealer. The peasant at Oberlauchringen refused to pay a balance due, and the seller demanded an additional payment after 11 months. To underscore his absurd demand hte farmer went to a party member at Waldshut who threatened a demonstration in front of Meier's house. As a result of such a gathering Meier would be taken into protective custody to keep the 'public peace'. Meier let himself be blackmailed and paid a second time.

Summer 1932 a small shop was forcibly sold at auction. According to business rules it fell to the highest bidder Moritz Meier. He as owner permitted the former owner to continue the business as lessee. The lessee then joined the party and demanded back his business - without compensation.

Meier had no reason to hide his business methods from the authorities, and he could gladly give information over his political past. So he wrote to the Tiengen Bezirksamtsrat: "As active soldier I was in the most forward frontline, on the Western Front, for the entire war, and earned decorations and approbation"..... To the curious prosecutors Meier became more detailed: " I've done many volunteer acts at the front. In one such undertaking I was buried alive with 6 comrades.

I was the only one dug out after 16 hours, albeit in poor condition". As reference for his remarks he listed the Tiengener hotelier Maurer and the master baker Sutter. Both confirmed at their interrogation at the Rathaus good comradeship with Meier. The also reported of Meier's part in a dangerous action in the course of which three long-barrelled cannons were captured from between french trenches.

I mention this not to glorify war, but to show the disappointment of a former jewish fellow citizen. He was persecuted in a land for which he 'held out his bones'. Meier has not gotten over the bitterness. And I can understand, or at least respect, when he declined the suggestion of a well-meaning citizen to name a street after him. The history of Meier's sorrows began in Tiengen. The following stations were to be more horrible.

From Zurich the way of the family Meier led to the french village Chenehutte les Tuffeaux, near Saumur & Angers, where they bought a former church property. The beautifully situated farm 'St.Radegonde' situated in the picturesque Loure valley, had for centuries belonged to a nun-convent until the state took it over. It suffered greatly under state management.

Meiers went to work with a will. The were supported by Martha's parents who had finally liquidated the assets at Tiengen. Martha's brother Gustav with his family came to live there; they had, incidentally lived in Tiengen for a while. Then came Martha's widowed sister Selma Rothschild from Zurich, who originally took in the Meiers, and finally other members of Martha's family. 18 inhabitants were at the former nunnery. All worked. Success was not long in following.

In spite of the great deal of work Muarice volunteered for the french army. August 1939 he had to report. But when he reported to Angers he was not taken into the army, but arrested as an enemy alien and interned.

The column of internees started up several times as the germans broke into France. Basically one marched direction south which was not german occupied. The political prisoners reached Camp Gurs near the Pyrenees in October 1940, a camp built originially for refugees of the spanish civil war.

To Gurs in the same month came 6,000 german jews from Baden and the Palatinate, among them people known to Meier from his birthplace Nonnenweiler, from Tiengen, and from Kirchen.

After many difficulties Meier managed to leave the camp legally. The liberation was due to the fact that he wanted to raise vegetables on a small plot of land, and which he did. He did however regularly report to the police. He wrote to his wife she should try to flee south. But the age-weakened parents could hardly survive such a difficult and dangerous undertaking. Meier himself could not dare to return to St.Radigonde because the germans would certainly have arrested him.

The last sign of life Meier received from his wife came in June 1942: "Dear Moritz, don't be sad over what I have to write you. We were picked up in the night of 15/16 June. Each of us was allowed to take a small parcel. The separation from the parents was heartbreaking....14 people were taken from St.Radegonde. The first stop is Angers. From here we'll be transported east. Where to? Yesterday I was led across the yard and saw behind closed windows in the second story our Ernst, my child. I'm courageous, you be too also. I have only one wish: 'G'd may keep healthy and that we see each other again.....'". Maurice never saw his wife and children again. When he received the above letter he had no idea that a deportation to the east by the Germans, falsely called a 'resettlement', was to lead to extermination. If he hadn't been able to leave Camp Gurs just in time the same fate would have befallen him. At German insistence the French turned over all interned Jews for abduction to the east.

P.138 Card to M.Meier at Gurs, written by his wife then still free. But even outside of the camp Meier could no longer feel safe in southern France. He sought a means to flee to Switzerland, that he found with much danger. From the safe Switzerland he sought by mail to trace his family. Inquiries to KZ, i.e. Auschwitz, were returned unanswered. More and more he realized that his family ended in the Nazi Hells. His own salvation did not cheer him. To this day he is oppressed by the guilt of 'surviving'. 1946 a book is published in Switzerland about Gurs titled 'Letters to my Son'. The dedication reads: " My wife, my dear courageous comrade, Martha, you, the deported, enslaved mother robbed of her children". In the same year Meier left Switzerland and emigrated to the USA. There 1962 a second book appeared by him: "Refuge (Flucht)". He dedicated it to his second wife Gretel who with his deafness is his 'mouth and ear' and made a normal life possible for him. May Moritz Meier's books be published in Germany that they take in our hearts against the insensate racial hatred.

Olesheimer Family: Emma, Ida, Jonas Olesheimer & Herbert Baeunlin

P. 139 Olesheimer Family in front of their house at Kirchen. Since most inhabitants of Kirchen have good relations with their Jewish neighbors for decades, strangers were tactically brought into the village. The customs guard L. was one of those antisemites brought in by the party. Soon others were found that began to harass Jews. Julius Bloch a veteran of WWI who was wounded, was the first death after the Nuremberg laws, buried in the Kirchen Jewish cemetery. A highly regarded man, L. & dentist D. stood on the cemetery wall and photographed the funeral party. Later the people were publicized in the Suermer. This was 1937.

Thereafter nobody went to a jewish funeral. Many pinpricks in daily life made it difficult for teh jews to follow their normal daily life.

In his autobiographical notes, the son of Ida Braeunlin nee Olesheimer, today living at Haltingen, he describes a part of the tragic family history, which applies at large to all Kirchener jews.

He wrote: " The neighbors at first cam only at night, and then stayed away altogether. Everybody was frightened - the spy-system worked. The few exceptions hardly count, and yet they were a great help in this time. Estlenbaum Jobbi (Jakob) was an old man and very close to us. He always helped us, in wartime too with food. A small hero.they were so few.....Most of teh jewish citizen were able to emigrate. It wasn't easy in the foreign countries.....The jews who couldn't emigrate, perhaps thru poverty,.....they didn't escape the henchmen and found their death far away. In these years the jews were closer together again. The synagogue was now a meeting place. Differences in prosperity fell. Uncle Joni (Jonas Olesheimer) was one of these oppressed. In 1933 & 1934 many believed that nothing would happen to us. Either because they were war veterans or were too poor. The nazis only want the rich jews. This belief was supported by the nazis....Today everyone knows it was an illusion....All wnet thru the mill of extermination....."

This also happened to teh Olesheimer family. The ancestors were settled in Kirchen since 1825. Meier Olesheimer,b.1831, was married twice. Of his first marriage with REbekkah nee Weiler there were three children. Of the second union with the 26-year younger Emma nee Weil came the siblings Ida & Jonas. Meier Olesheimer died 1915. Son Jonas, After completing Volksschule he absolved a business apprenticeship at Basel, was drafted into the army 1914 as war broke out and served as radio-telegrapher in various parts of the front. He was buried alive at the front and returned disabled at war's end. He worked in the cement works at Kleinkems in the stone quarry until his wartime disability forced him to seek other employment.

P.140 Jonas Olesheimer

Jonas Olesheimer with sister Ida

Olesheimer house in WWI - 1.-r.: unknown soldier,Bertha Buergin,
Jonas Olesheimer, Ida Olesheimer, unknwon soldier

Joni, as he was called in the family had nerve problems from the war. A related doctor suggested he spend as much time as possible outdoors. This he did then, particularly with his nephew Herbert Braeunlin. With him he explored near and far in the vicinity, flora & fauna.

Herbert Baeunlin writes about him in his notes: Joni was for me father, uncle, simply everything. He gave me a great deal. My pleasure in nature...he taught me to play football, bought me football shoes, a bicycle: Tours, as late as 1936 from the Blauen over the Belchen to Feldberg were taken. (The 3 mts. nmaed are the prominent mts.of the so.Black Forest-tr). Jonas Olesheimer was a peaceful person, always ready to compromise. When after 1933 life with other people changed so much, neighbors boys attached a nazi flag on a tree next to his house. When the father of one of these sprouts wanted to take him over his knee, Joni happened by and appeased: 'Let him go, neighbor, it's only boy's doings'.

At this time Ida Olesheimer had been married over 12 years to a mason, Robert Braeunlin. Of this marriage of 'a shy boy and a modest jewish girl' a son was born 1923, Herbert.

Herbert Braeunlin characterises this connection: My father was an excellent mason and an equally poor businessman. The marriage didn't prosper...After 17 years my mother obtained a divorce and even tho she was a jewess she won 1938; my father was named guilty...1941 he tried to take from my mother the name Braeunlin. In a letter a lawyer wrote:Because of the war caused by world jewry the accused wants to use the name Braeunlin as camouflage so as not to have to carry a jewish name. Ida's reply to the court: I am by far more proud of my jewish maiden name than of the name Braeunlin.

The court threw out the matter. Ida could continue to use the name Braeunlin. So Robert B. in a letter to Ida B.: I'll make sure you'll go where you belong.

P.141 Ida Braeunlin & son Herbert

Herbert Braeunlin with Grandmother

The son Herbert B. grew up in the parental home first at Haltingen, attended the Volksschule, and then transferred to the humanistic Hebelgymnasium at Loerrach. The mother had him baptised evangelical (Lutheran-tr) a few days after his birth. herbert B.: I owe my life to Jesus Christ.

" In school at the Hebelgymnasium there were still 2 jews in my class. Bernhard Moses, son of the well-known Dr.Moses, also Richard Rosenberger, son of a successful merchant. We were respected by our classantes and had no problems. Perhaps because I was the strongest in the class and a good athlete. And the other two were good students. Much negative is to be reported of the teachers. Don't think it's easy to concentrate as jew of half jew when in front of teh class an SS-man teaches....."

At 14 Herbert left the Gymnasium 'due to inadequate work'. "The national socialism, the broken marriage, chronic lack fo money - school tuition was RM 200.- -were the real reasons. It wasn't simple in my home village either. Even tho an

excellent football player who at 14 already played in the 'A-Jugend' his descent made him ineligible. When it came to a friendly game between his team and the HJ-eleven, a Hitler Youth leader said: 'I won't play where he does'.

P.142 Herbert Braeunlin with friends 1936/7, l-r: Christian Buergin, Fritz Knobloch, Herbert B.

Emma Olesheimer, b.1857 d. Gurs 1940 (166.0)

Herbert Braeunlin: During this time I got to know the difference between 'half aryan' & 'half jew'. It depends on location. The strangers say 'half jew' and the locals 'half aryan'. My father's sisters always said: the mother is Jewish. No ties of family relationships.

Herbert thru connection with David Lieberles, also from Kirchen, Herbert obtained an apprenticeship at Basel and got the official permission therefor. 1938 - 1942 he apprenticed by the firm Textilmaschinen AG.

Widow Olesheimer nee Weil and her 10-year younger sister Lina, who used to work as a housekeeper in Basel, cared for the household in the Olesheimer house, that was situated right next to the church property.

Herbert B. describes the pinpricks to which Jews were exposed in the first years of the Nazi rule, especially the housewives: "...At first my Grandmother & Lina no longer wanted to go to Reiff's store to shop. Reiff's were always good to us, but other customers no longer wanted to meet Jews...in the grocery of Julius Bloch the non-Jewish customers stayed away...the Jews regularly went to barber H. for haircuts & shaves. But he was the first to have a sign on his door: Jews will not be served here."

When on Sabbath Sophie, Margot & Hanneli (Braunschweig), 12 & 16 years old, very pretty girls, walked thru the village, I sometime heard: "How dare they to walk three abreast thru the village". Friendships among children were also restrained. Hilde Egle nee Buergin on the evening of the Kristallnacht was visiting with the Braunschweig girls. She was held by the Nazis and her father had difficulty getting her loose from them.

Living conditions constantly worsened. Jonas Olesheimer, like the other 8 men in Kirchen, was arrested following the Kristallnacht, transported to KZ Dachau & held there until Dec.1938. He never spoke of this time. With the start of war 1939 a new phase began. With the first evacuation of the villages near the borders all Jews had to disappear.

"We were among the fleeing; it was evening, the column of people and animals & wagons first went to Ruemlingen. Joni & I pulled the hand cart, on which were the 82-year old grandmother and a few belongings. Along the way Lina found a seat on the wagon of Berta Krebs. To this day I still hear: These are Jews! Today a two-headed calf attracts as much attention. With several other boys I was sent to Hauingen.

Joni, grandmother & Lina were sent to a pension at Konstanz. I never saw them again."

P.143 Jonas Olesheimer (extr.right) with his fellow workers At Konstanz, with another 10 fellow sufferers from Kirchen, they found a poor shelter in a pension near the destroyed synagogue.

Joni worked for a rail construction firm and did very heavy labor.

On 22 October 1940 in a 'night & fog' action all jews living in Baden (the Palatinate & Lorraine) were deported, the so-called Robert Wagner Aktion. The destination was Gurs, a huge camp at the edge of the pyrenees.

Already Dec.5,1940 Emma Olesheimer died at Gurs. Denise Braunschweig, married Leder, the cousin living in Basel, advised Ida Olesheimer of her mother's death.

" Everything one wanted to give her she declined with the comment she only wants to die. She took no food so as to find the peace she sought".

Her sister Lina came into a subsidiary camp, Noe. She died there two years after her sister, 27 March 1943.

On 4 August 1942 Jonas Olesheimer wrote to his cousin Denise Leder at Basel, six days before his deportation to Auschwitz.

P. 144 Jonas Olesheimer's letter: (approx.tr.)

Dear Denise, I received the swiss parcel 4 days ago, as well as 2 days later the announced money so that now all is in order. Many thanks for all your trouble and sacrifice and hope that G'd will reward you. I can only do so with words. Here it means patience and more patience and then see further. Don't you hear anything from H.? I can't understand Ida but that's the way she is and can't change. Lamib (?) also always waits for mail from you but in vain. Sami (?) I see daily on my way to work. Otherwise one day passes like another, not much doing. From Fritz E. I received a letter 14 days ago, otherwise I have no correspondence. He wrote that he'll go on vacation. So everything's the same as in peacetime. I want to close for now, please greet Boldi, Sigi and the 2 sons & remain your grateful Jonas.

Of Lina I've had no news even tho I wrote to her myself.

Jonas Olesheimer was probably murdered in Auschwitz August 1942. Ida Braeunlin was drafted for labor. May 1941 she wrote of her life to Denise Leder at Basel.

'....but if mama knew what all has happened to me since she closed her eyes for ever, she'd stand up in her grave....I have to stop...." She continues in

the same letter: Dear Denise, When you come here sometimes after the war you'll ask where my cradle stood? Often I cry, of many houses nothing is visible'.

1942 the Oberrat der Israeliten send Ida B. the Judenstern. At the same time she was told to be ready to leave for work in the east. Two comments were made by his mother, reports Herbert: "I'll wear the Judenstern only under compulsion and not in Kirchen". And: " I don't mind working, I'm used to it".

Spring 1942 Ida B. was taken to jail in Loerrach by the Gestapo. Herbert determined that his mother had left her raincoat with the Judenstern at home. With his bicycle he rode to the 'Villa Aichele (Gestapo Office Loerrach) to bring

her her coat. By chance the first person he passed was Gestapo man B. who had arrested his mother. He asked him "what's up?" Herbert B. gave him the raincoat and B. asked him if he wanted to come into the jail and deliver the coat himself. B. writes: Quickly I thought - but the word jail scared me. I declined the visit politely. If ever I would have gotten out of that jail? Many disappeared in this manner. As last sign of life from my mother I got a card probably thrown out of a train: "Dear Boy, I'm on the way east. Stay strong". Ida B. went on her way to extermination at Izbica where she was murdered.

After the arrest of Ida B. the grand parental house in Kirchen, in which Herbert lived, was confiscated. At the time he lay in hospital at Loerrach with pneumonia. An official of the Finanzamt (treasury Dept.-tr) advised him that the house and contents were confiscated. Upon the request to at least him some of his necessities he was asked how he could prove that it was his bed? After some interventions he was allowed to stay in one room. Many Kirchener bought furniture when the contents of the house was sold. Gratefully, Herbert received some of it back later.

By now his apprenticeship at Basel was completed. As the war proceeded differences of opinions grew. B.: "I stood between the fronts. The anti-nazis were in the plurality, but I didn't dare express myself. The 5th column (swiss nazis) was everywhere. Over three years I walked from the Baden Station to the Gueterstr. and back, I had no money for the tram".

P.145 Herbert Braeunlin

Entrance to Villa Aichele, from 1939 to war's end Gestapo office.
From the locked cellar windows one could hear the cries of the tortured.

With his mother's arrest Herbert lost his Grenzkarte (border crossing permit-tr). On 2 May 1942 he began work in defense plant at Muellheim where he soon became foreman. There in Muellheim he met his future wife Theresa Margarethe Heitz, who after he confessed to being a half-jew, replied: What's that to me? They were not permitted to marry, and their child was born at the hospital at Sulzburg. it was born 19 July 1944, and died two days later, murdered by a nazi doctor (female) as the family knows positively.

Isaak, Frieda, Sophie, Julius and David Braunschweig

My father Issak Braunschweig b.30 May 1890 was the son of Israel Braunschweig. April 1919 my father became engaged to Frieda Levi, of Sulzburg, Gasthof wilden Mann. At the same time my father's brother Max became engaged to my mother's sister Regina. The marriages were held in the synagogue at Sulzburg. Two sisters married two brothers. After the wedding aunt Regina moved to Kirchen where my uncle Max had the butchershop in his parents large house.

My father also worked in the business and came to Sulzburg only weekends where my mother continued to run the 'Gasthaus "Zum Eilden Mann"'. 1928 my father had his inherited house rebuilt, sold the Gasthaus and moved to Kirchen with the family.

P.146 The jewish Wirtschaft (tavern) in Sylzburg
(Pict.inscr.: A pleasant get-together war year 1914)

My two younger brothers and I had a pretty nice youth at Kirchen. that was until 1933. After election things changed quickly. In the school it was pretty nice with my teachers Miss Kuester & Mr.Gervig. My brother Julius had an SS teacher who wore his uniform to school. After I left school 1933 I went to the Frauen-arbeitsschule (Women's Work School-tr) Basel, my brother to the Handwerkschule (vocational school-tr) Basel. In the years 1933 until our emigration, as a young girl I couldn't enter a cinema, go to a dance or a similar event without being treated as a 'jew'. Even in the train from Kirchen to Basel I was generally annoyed. Stones were thrown at our windows. Christmas eve 1937 a nazi dressed as Santa Claus came to our door. My brother Julius opened the door and was brutally beaten and mishandled. This event so affected my brother that after our immigration in America 1938 he had to be placed in a home. In such an institution he lives to this day. For my parents this was awful. Since Julius could not become a citizen he was to be deported back to Germany. But after my younger brother came into the american army Julius was left in the institution here. After our arrival here I had to work as maid in a household since I knew no english. My monthly salary was \$ 40.00. Of this I had to give \$ 38.00 to my parents to live on since we were allowed to emigrate with only \$ 10.00.

I could continue writing, but until I finished I'd have written this book.

Nathan Moses, Betty Moses nee Dreifuss, Hanna & Susanne Moses
Nathan Moses (161.0), cousin of already named Dr. Samuel Moses (Loerrach) and Julius and Samuel Moses (muellheim, was born at Kirchen 7 June 1886. After studying law he settled at Karlsruhe and 1927 married Betty nee Dreifuss from Altdorf. They had two daughters, Hanna-b.1927 & Susanne - b.1929.

P. 147 Nathan Moses, Attorney at Karlsruhe
Betty Moses nee Dreifuss

In addition to his legal practice Nathan Moses from his office represented the 'Jewish Agency' for Baden, and founded the construction fund 'Keren Hajessod', also known as 'Jued.Palaestinawerk e.V. He also operated a travel agency for jews wishing to emigrate. In a letter to Leopold Braunschweig he describes himself as Zinist since 1904.

The Jews of Karlsruhe were also slow to decide to emigrate. Compared to many who had tentatively moved to western Europe, those wishing to go to Palestine had a firm goal. These were primarily Zionists whose ideal was to rebuild 'Erez Israel'. Materially and organisationally they were supported in Baden by the already mentioned Jewish Agency run by Nathan Moses, Ritterstr.8, later Karlstr.48. The theme emigration was a huge problem for the Jews, not only financial. A big worry was if one could build an existence in a foreign land.

Jewish training schools for agricultural and vocational occupations naturally were in short supply and couldn't be set up from one day to another. As to vocational training he tried another tack. In a memo of 18 Dec.1933 to the Reichsstadthalerei Baden he wrote he mentioned the refusal of German firms refusing to take on Jewish apprentices. He therefore requested assistance in order to get training for the young Jews in such crafts as are in demand in Palestine such as building trades, metal work & certain foodstuff processing, since he as representative of the Zionists would guarantee they would emigrate to Palestine.

In order to forestall denial he further wrote: Nobody will believe a young mason journeyman, a Jew, would try to establish himself in Germany after completing his training. The finance and economics ministry answering simply referred to a circular of 6 Dec.1933 issued by the vocational chamber stating that at the moment to forbid Jewish apprentices will not be issued shortly, but rather a direct recommendation meant not to employ Jewish apprentices rather than to do so.

Nathan Moses worked hard at the emigration of his fellow Jews. So he referred to the prompt & timely issuance of passports to the Karlsruhe Police chief, in the matter of Bernhard Meyer, owner of a printing plant. He already had a British work certificate that set the maximum age for immigration at 45. Moses wrote that this certificate can only be used if the immigration occurs before 10 August, 45. birthday of Meyer, he is landed, since according to the immigration laws no man can receive a work certificate after 45. Meyer received his passport in time and on 3 August 1938 could leave with the last possible ship, the 'Palestina' from Trieste.

The British mandate administration made work certificates more and more difficult to obtain. This led to a list which Nathan Moses used. Since married couples needed only a single certificate and so another person came into possession of a life-saving certificate, a number of prospective emigrants contracted sham marriages that after arrival in Palestine could be divorced. At such marriages he appeared as one of the witnesses. Proven is the marriage of 18 August 1939 when at the Karlsruhe registry Julius Herz married the 20 years younger bride Sonja Kotkowski. The 'saved' certificate helped somebody else.

On 20 Oct.1940, the day Baden Jews were deported to Gurs, Nathan Moses was in

bed with a walking cast. The then 13-year old Hanna Moses and her 11½ year old sister still had vacation because of Sukkoth. She reports: On 22 Oct. about 8 AM the bell at our door, Karlstr.48, rang, and as my mother opened the door two men in civilian clothes identified themselves as Gestapo and asked if all family members were at home. When mother said so they advised that as of now nobody may leave the house, we're to get ready for travel, they'd be back in an hour....Mother awakened us girls....told us to dress warmly and started to pack. As she hurriedly packed, Frau Betty Moses (1889 - 1940) quickly sent her daughter Hanna to the baker with a earthen pot full of pickles. She was afraid the pickles would spoil until they returned. The daughter, who was given some fresh bread for the trip by the baker & house-owner on the groundfloor, as she remembers: That there could be no return was beyond our imagination. Punctually at nine AM the Gestapo returned in company of a uniformed policeman who against all expectation was very helpful to mother with her packing. One of the Gestapo men sent Hanna to the dairy to buy milk and butter for the remaining ration cards for the month. She was only to say: a Gestapo man has ordered it. According to their orders the Gestapo men had to make sure the jewish families assigned them had food for several days. "My father at the time had an infected foot and - altho with a walkigncast - was still abed. Since he had much contact with authorities as attorney, Baden rep.of the Palestine organization, and owner of a travel bureau (because of then laws in mother's name) for emigrants or those to be freed from german KZs (Dachau above all) he was known to the Gestapo people who appeared, and they behaved themselves quite courteously. They advised my parents....that father could remain here because of his disability, but of course not in our apartment, in the city hospital, but that his family would have to leave in any case, and for this reason my father decided to come along". Since Nathan Moses could walk on crutches only with difficulty a 'party-car' was ordered that took him and all our baggage to the station. Frau Moses and her daughters, like the majority of the arrested jews, were brought to the station by streetcar accompanied by a policeman. Hanna remembers: " From the platform on which we stood we saw a truck with aged inhabitants of the jewish Old Age Home go by to the loading bridge, toward railway station". On arrival at Gurs Nathan Moses was hospitalized immediately. Frau Betty Moses, to escape the boredom of the camp, volunteered to oversee the latrine of the yard. Daughter Hanna reports she saw her mother smoking for the first time.

Because of Hanna Moses the 'Gurs song' has survived. Written by a young unknown conductor who organized a choir in the camp. (Tr.for gist only)

All once made plans
and they kept to them
but plans became tears
because life can't be forced

In Basses Pyrenees is a place where only barracks stand.
Hardly a tree stands there.
Here must enter he who has no right to be on earth.
And who entered the place is separated from the world by barbed wire.

In Basses-Pyrenees France guards
over each of the most innocents who've done nothing.
And if you are a stranger then it'll appear to you too
The damned are only in Camp de Gurs.

February 1941 the two children were taken to a french orphanage at Aspet near St. Gaudens thru the intercession of teh child welfare group OSE together with french quakers. Betty was very concerned to have her children cared for, since she knew they'd be fed better, even tho it meant separation. In the 'Maison des Pupilles de la Nation' as many french children were cared for as german, and at first they cursed the german children as 'sales boches'. The german children received instruction in french and worked in house & garden.

Summer 1941 Betty surprised her daughters with a visit having received 'leave' for a few days from the camp commandant. At this time she would gladly have taken a job as farmworker or cook in a home. But she couldn't and wouldn't leave her ill husband and returned to Gurs. But at least she could tell him that the girls were well cared for, considering the circumstances.

Mid - 1942 Hanna & Suzanne Moses along with another girl were taken to the OSE-childrens home "Chateau de Couret" at La Jonchere near Ambazac, near Limoges.

It was a question of a purely girls home which housed only jewish children. With time the news spread that jews were not only be shifted from one camp to another but were also deported to the east.

Along the way from Aspect to Couret summer 1942 the sisters had the opportunity to visit their parents who had meanwhile been transferred to Recebedou. Since Susanne became ill with grippe the gilrs could stay with their parents a whole week. It was the alst time that they saw them.

While at the girls home near Limoges where the two sisters were staying early summer 1942, one day - end of March/early April - the girls received false IDs. The were for 'Annemarie & Susanne Mourer of Hageneau, Alsace. "At the same time we were told to pack our suitcases and the next day go to Limoges, from where we then were to travel to Switzerland". There they met about 50 other endangered boys and girls and travelled under the guidance of M.Loinger, an OSE worker,

to Grenoble by train. Most children had relatives or good friends in Switzerland. Hanna & Susanne were taken into this transport, when after questioning in Courret by OSE people about relatives or friends in Switzerland, and they just had gotten the address of distant relatives via whom Moses corresponded with relatives still living at Frankfurt & Stuttgart (siblings).

The first half of the group continued on into Switzerland the day they got to Grenoble. The other group, with the two Moses girls, was to follow next day. But since Switzerland closed its borders on this day the second group was left in Grenoble. In charge of a young man identified only as 'Luc' they were told in case of questioning to say they were from Alsace. The discovery of mostly German children would have been very dangerous. In order not to appear to visible the children ate at different little bistros and during the day spent many hours at the movies. When weeks later the Swiss still showed no readiness to open their borders the group was distributed to reliable families in the vicinity, the boys to farmers in the country, the girls to work in households. Hanna, now 15½, and the 14-year old sister Susanne thru the agency of sisters of an order were placed as cook resp. chambermaid in the 10-member household of a pensioned French general of WWI.

Three months later the girls were called back to Grenoble. There a group of ca. 20 children and youths was assembled. This group was taken, by a woman who looked like a Catholic pathfinder (boy scout-tr) 'by train to Annecy-Annemasse direction Swiss border, finally to Machilly, of which Hanna reports:how we took the small children on our laps so that we wouldn't stick out so much. Before this the guide had impressed upon us all sorts of apt stories that we were to relate if we were caught by anyone. For ordinary nosy people we travelled in a 'preventoire' since we supposed had weak lungs and were to recuperate."

Brought to the village Douvaine, with a truck just available for the 8 km trip, the children received back their original German ID, the forged papers were taken back. In case we were caught and questioned by Swiss border & customs people, "we were to say that we were from distant cities in the north of France."

After spending the day in the inner yard of a vicarage at Douvaine, the group was picked up about 10 PM "by two men totally unknown to us". We were to keep absolutely quiet, walk one behind the other and change off carrying the lightest ones. The way was thru fields which gave some cover, thru high corn plants, and also thru woods. But this was on a rise because under us Lake Geneva mirrored, and on the horizon one could see the bright lights of the city of Geneva."

Having arrived at a high barbed wire fence, the unknown guides shoved the 25 children thru the cut fence and disappeared. The children, who let themselves roll down the slope, reached and crossed a brook, and then "quiet joy broke out".

ENCOUNTER - Attempts at Understanding

1978 the chronicle 'Die Juedische Gemeinde von Kirchen' appeared in two editions. With the exception of some vandalism at the jewish cemetery - never cleared up - restitution matters in the 50's by the people who lost their houses and property, and sporadic visits of former jewish citizens of Kirchen of the jewish faith to their birthplace, up to this time there was little public interest in the jewish history of the hometown. The book happened to appear at the same time as two events occurred concerning better understanding (Wirkungsgeschichte - not easily translated-tr). For one, the US-made TV film 'Holocaust' was shown between Jan. 22-26, 1979 in all third programs of the ARD (german TV) with following live discussion. With this the german people saw for 428 minutes the mass-murder of the jews as related by the fate of two jewish families of Berlin, aimed at body & soul. In addition to negation the film shocked the viewers and caused some very basic discussions and conversations.

The second event was the fight, in letters to the editor of both the Badische Zeitung and the Oberbadisches Volksblatt re the re-naming of the school in Efringen-Kirchen to the 'Hermann Burte Schule'. The poet & painter lived in Efringen-Kirchen 1946-1958. Many of his contemporaries knew him as a writer of alemanic verse. His other works were however less read, i.e. 'Wiltfeber, der ewige Deutsche'. They had an anti-semitic spirit.

In his time at Efringen-Kirchen Burte was publicly honored. So the street in which he lived was named for him and 1958 he was named 'Ehrenbuerger' (honorary citizen-tr) of Efringen-Kirchen. Now, 18 years after his death the naming of the school caused an uproar.

Soon thru the afore-mentioned book the discrepancy between the terrible history of the jews of Kirchen and the name of the school bearing his name. On 17 Oct. 1978 town councillor Guenter Schoening wrote in the Oberbadisches Volksblatt:

"For this reason Burte cannot be an example for today's generation. He who wants to join the discussion should first read two books: 'Wiltfeder, der ewige Deutsche' by Burte, and Axel Huettner's 'The jewish congregation of Kirchen'. After studying both books I see no further reason to even think of constitutional matters of the BRD that Burte is a suitable patron to name a school after.

On 6 Febr. 1979 the Oberschulamt advised that the name change may not occur. Pres. Rolf Kindler remarked on the fate of the jewish community. Because of this it came to a formal denial.

When the town-council Efringen-Kirchen renewed its efforts for the naming of the school in Burte's honor, a action group was formed: Conscience and Atonement, that on the day of the traditional 'Rulaender Schoppen' (Rulander Wine Festival-tr)

(an annual festival in honor of Burte's memory) called for a dignified memorial service for the 40 jews of Kirchen murdered by the National Socialists. The central theme of this memorial was to be a discussion of the spirit of Burte and the book of Axel Huettnner; this ecumenical event was planned by Rev.W.Meier, Blansingen, Rev. H.Keller, Istein, and Landes-Rabbiner Dr.N.P.Levinson. The action-group decided not to hold it's silent march. It never got to the feared discussion on the part of both sides.

This discussion re the schoolname brought forth important impulses for an encounter with the former jewish fellow citizens of Efringen-Kirchen. The town administration soon contacted Rabbi Dr. Levinson, who in talks suggested an invitation of the surviving former jewish citizens of Kirchen. In other towns this meeting produced good responses. After ads in various jewish newspapers: Isr.Wochenblatt - Zurich, Juedische Rundschau - Basel, Aufbau - New York, Juden in Deutschland - Duesseldorf, various former jewish citizens of Kirchen wrote to express interest. These were the following:

Denise & Siegfried Leder-Braunschweig, Basel
 Hans Bloch, Mayor in Israel & grandson of Max Bloch
 Alfred Bloch, Basel, grandson of Herz Bloch
 Dr. K. e. Bloch, Luzern
 Herbert & Margarether Braeunlin, Haltingen
 Alfred Rosenberg & wife Alice nee Bloch, USA
 Johanna Marque-Braunschweig & Arnold w.son & daughter-in-law, USA
 Sophie Kessler-Braunschweig & daughter Linda Weiss, USA

P.154 The guests in front of the Rathaus Efringen-Kirchen 1983.
 first row (l-r) Sophie Kessler-Braunschweig, Alfred Ludwig Rosenberg, Ellen Wascou, Arnold Marque, Anneliese Wascou-Weil, Hans Bloch, Rear Row (l-re): Irene Bloch, Ludwig Brightbill-Kessler, Johanna Marque-Braunschweig, Hannie Leder, Julius Leder

After intensive discussion and planning these people visited Efringen-Kirchen from 12 - 26 June 1983. The program called for meeting with the local people, conversations with the students of the Haupt- & Realschule, drives to Buergelein, Breisach, Sulzburg, Freiburg, Worms, heppenheim & Heidelberg. Two worship services, one at the synagogue at Freiburg and one at the Christuskirche at Kirchen exemplified the ecumenical spirit of this visit.

In his welcoming remarks at the lutheran community hall at Kirchen Buergermeister Dierkes spoke of the reservations some of the invited jewish guests about coming. Perhaps (those who didn't accept) some didn't want to revisit the country that has hurt them so much. He spoke further: 'We haven't met today in order to

discuss the terrible happenings of the past, to assign guilt, and possibly re-open old wounds....we are gathered today first of all to reach out our hand to our former jewish fellow citizens, to ask for atonement & understanding. This is so much easier for us....since you (men and women) lived in great harmony together in Kirchen...we are in the present time...the constant threat of war, hate resentment, more than ever required to seek understanding among peoples, among the individuals'. Dierkes concluded: 'I beg you for forgiveness, atonement. I hope and believe that you are ready to accept the outstretched hand for understanding.'

Landesrabbiner Dr. N. P. Levison concluded his remarks comparing the wandering of Jacob to Haran, when he did not stop in Jerusalem, 'Is it possible that I passed by the place where my ancestors worshiped without visiting there?' and the situation of the former jews of Kirchen who had now returned.

'Dear guests, most of you went past this place until now. We all know the reasons why. We understand them. There will also be those that will never again step on german soil. But you came. It's like a miracle, you came to this place, and you can pray at the graves of your fathers and mothers'. 'The eternal optimists came' quoted a local paper the remarks of the rabbi. With this visit of the jewish guests a good beginning was made for a new mutual understanding. Two tablets remind of this new beginning. One was placed in the hall of the Efringen-Kirchen Rathaus by the former jewish citizens:

P.155 In grateful acknowledgement for the generous hospitality of the Gemeinde Efringen-Kirchen June 1983.)plus names of attendees)

A second tablet is placed on the outside of the wall surrounding the jewish cemetery at Kirchen, donated by the town administration:

P.155 In memory of our jewish fellow citizens and their synagogue at Kirchen. (On the left is shown the Burning Bush and the words of 2.Moses 3,2b: The bush burned in fire but was not consumed.

P.155 - top: Headline of the Badische Zeitung 25 June 1983:
'A few Optimists have returned'.

The year 1988 brought the 50th anniversary of the pogrom of 9/10 November 1938 commemorated at the site of the 1831 built synagogue. On the evening of 9.Nov. Kirchen remembered and a plaque was attached to the Waagebrunnen (Waage spring-tr) nearby. It reads as follows: P.156:

In Memoriam.
Only about 50 m. easterly stood the synagogue of our jewish congregation, built 1831.
On 9 Nov.1938 this House of God was desecrated, vandalized, and later razed.
From 1736 until the years after 1933 jews and christians lived together in peaceful community.
From 1933 began the persecution of our jewish fellow citizens, sorrow and death.

In remembrance of them and the desecration of their synagogue.
The citizens of the commune Efringen-Kirchen. 9 November 1988.

Further public commemorations in Kirchen took place October 1990 in memory of the expulsion of the Jews of Baden and the Pfalz, the so-called Robert Wagner action of 22 Oct. 1940.

The evangelical church invited to an exhibition in the parish house, with an opening ceremony.

Rev. W. Meier, Biansingen, and Rev. A. Huettnner, Wollbach, arranged the exhibits. The political community invited to a silent march. The SPD local and district organizations afterwards had some speakers in the 'Old School': the historian Markus Moehring and the auto-biographic recollections of Margot Wickey-Schwarzschild, a Gurs survivor.

Already April & December 1990 as well as March & April 1991 invitations were sent to survivors and family members of the former Kirchen Jews.

As documented by the town administration Efringen-Kirchen the contacts with the Jewish fellow citizens established 1983 were to be continued.

From 14 - 28 May 1991 the following person came upon invitation by the community:

P.156 List of attendees

A working group had prepared the program for the guests leaving free time for the guests, in addition to the Evening of Meeting in the Old School, excursions to Breisach, Sulzburg, the southern Black Forest, Alsace, & north-western Switzerland.

The guests were in the care of Buergermeister Horst Dierkes, Chief administrator Walter Silbereisen, and senior teacher Wolfgang Weller.

The 'Evening of Meeting' took place 21 May 1991 in the full auditorium of the Old School, and united with the local citizens many guests from out of town, i.e. Landesrabbiner Soussan, Bundestag & Landtag delegates, the Landrat, Buergermeister and clergy from neighboring communities.

In place of the suddenly ill author Ingeborg Hecht her friend Claire Gysin-Morgenstern from Riehen read of her auto-biographically colored works.

Music in form of Yiddish songs were provided by students from Freiburg, Joscha Zmarzlik & Christian Reck.

A number of guests spoke of the new relationship with their old 'Heimat'.

Alfred Ludwig Rosenberg, the last official Hebrew teacher in Kirchen, spoke for many when he said: 'We inherited the past, we have to build the future. Today was the first day of my future.'

- P. 157 View into the auditorium 21 May 1991. (people listed in 2 fotos)
Remarks of thanks by former religion teacher and last cantor
of the Jewish community Kirchen, Mr. Rosenberg/

The Jewish Cemetery of Kirchen.

The life of a Jewish congregation includes care for the dead. So it is one of the main concerns of a Jewish congregation to find a place where the dead can rest peacefully until the time of the Messiah.

P.158 The old Jewish cemetery at Loerrach, am Schaedelberg
The cemetery am Schaedelberg, today Schuetzenwaldweg, at Loerrach, begun 1670, served a regional cemetery until 1865 for all Jews living in the Roetteln district. Included herein were the Jews of Tumringen & Fischingen, as well as the district's second largest congregation, Kirchen. District Rabbi A. Lewin of Freiburg wrote in the foreword of his 1895 book on the Jewish cemetery at Loerrach (the book must unfortunately be considered lost): 'For all Jews in the county Roetteln and not only for the congregation of Loerrach alone, was the old cemetery lying am Schaedelberg acquired.... for this purpose the inhabitants of the Jewish communities paid for it with common funds. It was a central cemetery, like those in Sulzburg & Emmendingen. If this purchase took place 1666, as per the town chronicle of 1882, cannot be definitely established now. Certainly it is no younger.'

After the original land bought by Nathan Ullman on 8 Dec. 1670 proved inadequate further purchases were made 1800, 1812, 1865 & 1873, reaching a width of 80 M and a length of 150 M, an additional enlargement was denied by the Bezirksamt 10 April 1874 due to being close to the city. Primarily for financial reasons the Kirchen congregation decided to establish its own cemetery. For the members of the congregations of Loerrach, Kirchen, Tumringen & Fischingen, at the marriage of a son had to pay 2 Gulden, a daughter 3 Gulden, burial money to the cemetery association 'Friedhofsgemeinschaft von L.-K.T. & F.' In addition there was a 2 fl. paid of each 100 fl. 'marriage tax', with a minimum of 3 fl. 30 kr. and a maximum of 35 fl. The cemetery by-laws (Friedhofsstatuten) of 14 Febr. 1775 (14 Adar 5535) established that the poor were to be buried with costs paid by the charity of the congregation (Almosenkasse). Strangers who moved or married into one of the district communities had to buy in. The amount was set by the committee.

So Nathan Ullmann from Duermenach/Alsace in 1770 paid 30 fl., Wolf Levi from Hegenheim paid 66 fl. upon moving in, and Salomon Bloch from Muelheim paid 22 fl. Finally the funeral treasury was paid for butchered cattle 6 kr. for beefs and 3 kr. for smaller. Because of the constant enlargement of the cemetery the individual congregations had rising costs for the construction and maintenance of the cemetery. Aside from the financial problem Kirchen also had one of travel. The Kirchen Jews had to carry their dead over the 'Lücke', a small pass over the southern foothills of the Black Forest to Loerrach. This was very difficult in that 'automobile-less' time.

P.159 The jewish cemetery of Kirchen

Since anything dead, even human, is 'unclean' the dead had to be brought over the mountain to Loerrach as quickly as possible. So quotes Schmidt from the no longer existing Cemetery Book of the Loerrach Congregation: '...Now the men who are at home have to wash and dress the corpse at home. A washing of the dead at the cemetery as was customary at Sulzburg & Hegenheim was no longer done here. Most of the old cemeteries therefore are situated near brooks or creeks. The custom of washing the dead goes back to talmudic times. If the washing is done for purely hygienic reasons is unclear. The custom of 'Tahara' is based on the following: 'Man is washed at birth and is clean. Therefore he should also be washed upon dying.' or 'Clean shall the soul return to its creator as man has received it'.

Arguments and lawsuits between the congregations of Kirchen & Loerrach probably were the reason Kirchen decided 1865 to build its own cemetery. On 11 Sept. 1878 paid to Loerrach a settlement of 75 fl. With this the former central cemetery became the local Loerrach cemetery. Not long after, between 1891 & 1902, the still existing jewish cemetery was established along the Brombacherstrasse (next to the main town cemetery).

P.160 Jewish Graves

Old jewish cemeteries, like the above-mentioned district cemetery at Loerrach or the similarly mentioned ones at Sulzburg & Hegenheim/Alsace, are mostly situated on agriculturally poor or even unusable land; already the primary demand of the eternal grave rest is a strict requirement for jewish burial.

The Kirchen jewish cemetery is differently situated. It lies in a slightly rising terrain facing north-westerly, bordered on its northerly length by a bank 2m high.

Until a few years ago it was totally isolated from the two villages, Efringen & Kirchen, about 120m from the rail line Basel-Freiburg and about 400m from the federal highway B3, in a field, Gewann Kehlackner, Flurstueck # 3646. Meanwhile the industrial area has moved next to the cemetery. Four high chestnut trees shading most of the middle & rear lend dignity and deep rest for the dead. The cemetery is ca. 36m long on the westside, north about 38m and 20m width, together with the lawn in front take up about 1,842 sq.m. 151 graves are clearly visible. Seen from the entrance 45 graves are on the left, 87 on the right, all oriented east west.

The visitor first notes the newer graves, from 1920 - 1937, that fill the first rows of the right & left sides. The stones, aside from a few hebrew lines,

could also be found in christian cemeteries. The process of assimilation also continued here in the village for decades. But the further the visitor goes into the cemetery the stranger and more unusual does it become. The newer right side of the cemetery - the first grave dated 1884 - is laid out in rows of sixes & sevens.

But the left rear side, where the oldest graves lie, at first view appears disorderly. A few graves can only be recognized by spaces between existing ones, are level to the ground. The still readable stones from 1865 - 1870 are all incised in hebrew and are more modestly decorated than those after 1900. In the rear rows on the left are still stones in the timeless semicircular form of the roman stele that is to be found at all old cemeteries.

We can only appreciate the beauty and distinction of these 'God's Acres' from these last rows. The similarity of the epitaphs, the height and decoration of the stones, in their conservative decoration give an impressive picture of closeness, of the collection of the dead members of the congregation many decades later. Modesty & congregation, a fortunate symbiosis of art & nature.

Of course this Kirchen Jews Cemetery is not a Waldfriedhof (forest cem.-tr), it's in an open field, almost level, and is only distantly comparable with centuries old jewish cemeteries, but the thick growth of trees, creating a unity of man's work & memories, returning to nature, give it greatness. But here the cemetery rules apply. On stone and concrete bases they stand, the red sandstones, and wait in vain to be permitted to slowly sink into the earth. Their fate is to be toppled and smashed, the fate that also befell the old Loerrach cemetery. As late as 1932 J. Wilhelm wrote about the stones of the old cemetery at Loerrach: 'They stand like a group of venerable old men who can hardly hold themselves erect, tired as they are, would like to lay down to sleep'. The graves were and are totally undecorated. No green plants and no flowers decorate the grave. Totally uniformly are they covered with light gravel, a unity of the individually lived but uniformly affecting death.

P. 161 Grave of Moses Levi

(Tr. Note: here follow details of graves which will be passed over since the data is easily gleaned. Some description of note will be tr.)

P. 163 - Grave of Veist Bloch R-31 (illus.)

This grave with its size, figures and ornamentation is the most noticeable on the entire cemetery. The marble tablet bearing the inscription is missing and makes perfect identification difficult. Visible is a german inscription from Isa. 58.8 on the base: Then shall thy light break forth as the morning

And thy healing shall spring forth speedily;
and thy righteousness shall go before thee,
The glory of the Lord shall be thy reward.

On the frieze above the missing tablet are shown in deep relief a number of artifacts, l.-r.: a hand holding an open book, a knife, and a drinking cup.

These artifacts are easily recognized as the ritual items of a Mohel. The Mohel uses a.o. the following: Knife, sand container, Mohel book, wine container. The following parallels to this Kirchen gravestone may be mentioned here: "Very strange appears the gravemarker in Hemsbach/Baden, from 1753, of a devout man who officiated as Mohel...the circumcision requires the following artifacts: wine beaker, plate, knife, and a two-handled vessel". The office of Mohel was a post of high honor in the Jewish congregation and was only given to outstanding personalities. The size of the stone and the trim customary at the time show that this was indeed an 'outstanding' personality in Kirchen.

The chronologic order of the grave rows and the above notes point to Veist Bloch, who from 1876 until his death (1896) was head of the congregation. Only a few months before his death req. the Bezirkssynagogenrat at Freiburg allow him to relinquish his office for reasons of health. He suffered from heart disease and "overly great nervousness". But the Rat at Freiburg denied this request since they felt nobody else could hold this office just now. At the same time the congregation of Kirchen asked that he retain his office, wished him well and expressed their thanks for his long service. Veist Bloch remained in office but died seven months later.

Symbolism

On the gravestones one often saw a water jug, or a basin, or similar vessel. This describes the major religious function of the members of the tribe of Levy. On festivals the Levys gave the Kohanim (priests) the water to pour over their hands when they blessed the congregation.

The crown. This exemplifies the good name (Fathers, 4,17): Three crowns may grace man: The crown of the Torah, the Priesthood, the Kingdom, but that of a good name outranks all three.

The vine symbolizes a successful life.

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As mentioned already the left rear of the cemetery is the oldest section. These graves date from 1866 - 1882. No doubt the rows of gravestones, so thin today, were full rows of 5 - 6 graves. The years 1867 - 1882 demanded 38 deaths from the Kirchen Jewish congregation. But only 15 graves of this period remain in good condition. When we assume that these rows were as thickly set as those on the right, by counting 5 - 6 graves per row we arrive at ca. 35 of this period which is approximately as shown on my list of dead. Where else in Kirchen could they have been buried?

The only cemeteries in question would be those of Basel or Loerrach, or the already far distant ones at Muelheim & Sulzburg. Basel is excluded right off since until 1903 it buried its dead in Hegenheim/Alsace. Loerrach and the other two are excluded for similar reasons. Who would want to bury his dead in an overfull cemetery with whose administration one had differences concerning money matters?

To the left of the entrance is a memorial tablet remembering the victims of the tyranny of the years 1933 - 1945 of the Kirchen j.congregation. This tablet was made 1966 by the firm J. Bernhard of Weil am Rhein, after the town administration of Efringen-Kirchen in cooperation with the Oberrat der Israeliten in Karlsruhe, and the landscape architect A.Engler of Basel agreed on the sandstone foundation for the bronze tablet. The 1.00m x 0.60 m Bronze tablet listing the victims of the terror regime is inscribed as follows:

P.168 Tablet with Inscription & Names:

Of the Jewish Congregation of Kirchen were abducted and died 1939 - 1945
(names listed)

One must appreciate the efforts of the town to have set this memorial 1966, based on a reasonably careful search for victims of the Nazi regime. One must also appreciate the difficulty in researching difficult sources. A further 16 persons born in Kirchen or married to Kirchen Jews/Jewesses are not thereon. These are: see listing P.168

The Irma Bloch listed on the tablet at that time lived in Norwich, NY, USA. 1983 on the left outside wall a tablet was placed - see P.155

After the Jewish cemetery survived the Nazi period without any real damage - probably due to its out of the way location - in 1965, about Christmas time, it was destroyed by still unknown persons. Over 70 gravestones were toppled, marble tablets with the names of the deceased inscribed were destroyed. In a large press campaign reaching as far as Switzerland this deed was unanimously condemned. The town, concerned with the care of the cemetery - for this is one of the best maintained in southern Baden - found a poor echo in the press condemnation after taking proper care for so long. In more recent past, May 1973, June 1973 & June 1977 stones were toppled and inscriptions destroyed. Not always perfectly, because for obvious reasons repairs had to be made quickly, the stones were restored. None of these perpetrators - whose action could in any way be explained - were ever caught in spite of high rewards offered for their arrest.

P.169 Graph showing stones destroyed or damaged.

Of the 42 stones carrying Hebrew inscription, all but 5 could be identified.

The readability of the hebrew inscriptions varied. The newer were easily read. However the old older ones were difficult to reconstruct & read. The greater age of the gravestones was esthetically more beautiful, but the non-durable material, soft red sandstone, and the unreadability of the often recurring and similar letters as well as weathering complicated translations. The third point is that the christian stonemasons did not know hebrew, who carved the letters as they thought best. The frequent abbreviations added to the difficulty.

The list of hebrew grave inscription with a few typical translations appear in appendix # 9.

The Jewish Family Names in Kirchen

Leopold Zunz, the old master of hebrew language & history, opined in his collected works: "The names of the jews hide a secret history, they're diaries in secret code, which can be disclosed by diligent research".

The history, the fate, of each individual bearer of a name was in early times given by his name. In the early middle ages the jews living in Germany carried german names, or the hebrew names would be germanized. If the jews had german names it meant that they had civil, 'unholy' names. Some of tehse profane (civil) names were partially abbreviations or variations of 'holy' names used in worship (for.ex.the hebr.Pinhas, Pinkus became the german Seligmann). With time the differences between the holy and profane names were diffused. But one fact remains: For a long time jews had only one name. Later when several bore the same name some differentiation was added. Often this was by using the father's name with the suffix '..sohn' or by listing some physical or toher peculiarity, or the place of origin of the individual. This happened first in the cities in the 12th & 13th century with their larger jewish congregations. Much later, in the 17th & 18th century second or family names were beginning to be used by jews in the country and small towns.

In Baden the taking of fixed family names was first required by par.24 of the IX. constitutional edict of 13 January 1809. This stated: "Each house-father of the jewish religion who does not already ahve a particular, inheritable family name, is required to take such for himself and his children". The requirement of a fixed family/second name was one of the means of integrating the jewry into the usages of the christian society. This however meant giving up the ancient nebrew names for them. Even this par.24 did not mention the keeping of a jewish name the Baden administration forbade it.

It took a long time for this edict to become fully effective. The lists with the assumed names arrived late at the grand ducal interior ministry. There

names appearing to have a hebrew origin were found to be inadequate by the grand ducal officials (i.e. Baruch, David, Jacob, Levi, Nathan, Simon, Salomon, Moses, Abraham, etc.). But german-sounding names, of obvious hebrew roots such as Cohn Kahn (Cohen), Loeb, Loew (Levi), Meier (Meir) were not objected to. The effect of this par 24 in the Oberamt Loerrach I will examine as follows: Dreifuss is a conspicuous example of the change of individual names such as Bloch & Braunschweig that likely were carried as family names. The reason for this is that in the Amtsbezirk no less than 14 families were named Bloch and 7 were named Braunschweig; in addition to this several first names were alike in one family - for example the Blochs, Salomon, Leopold, Alexander - so that a differentiation by first names was impossible. By the setting of new first names the branches of a family group were considered and separately named. However I can't agree with the explanation for Dreifuss, 'according to which no family retained the old name'. The Braunschweigs appeared with the following names: Beck, Braun, Dornacher, Graf & Keller. The Blochs with Dietenheimer, Dornacher, Dreher, Geissmann, Kaufmann, Kircheimer, Mock & Weil. With the Bloch family the namechange recited by Dreifuss can be exactly followed. The families Braunschweig however never appeared in the Kirchen Jews lists with any of above names. These apparently hold for Loerrach.

A further rule of par. 24 held: "Everyone must keep his current names as first names and may not discard any". This led to the creation of double names, i.e. Leibl Bloch-Dietenheimer or Heimann Bloch-Geissmann or Alexander Bloch-Mock. By the retention of the old names as first names (not meant as forenames by which individuals are called) the government wanted to retain a certain control over existing contracts, signed documents and notes for debts. The new names, when they indicate an occupation are generally not identical with the bearer's business or occupation. So Meier Levi-Schlosser was never a 'Schlosser' (locksmith-tr) but was a small trader. Dreifuss raises the question if Schlosser was taken in memory of the Goethe brother-in-law who did much for the Jews emancipation in Bavaria? Salomon Bloch-Dreher was never a Dreher (turner-tr) but like most Jews of then Kirchen was a trader. By the widow of Schlummel Bloch-Kaufmann (called the small one) the acquired name happens to equate with his occupation as Kaufmann (merchant-tr). Or is this based on Jacob, -Kopmann, -Kaufmann? Miedel lists Kaufmann as occupational name with which one must here agree. The names taken 1810 in Kirchen did not remain for long. After 1870 hardly anyone in Kirchen held the then accepted names.

Place-Origin Names

The most common name in Kirchen was Bloch. Bloch is not as Goetze suggests in connection with Meyer-Tobler the description of a 'large, plump human', but a place - origin name. After the jew persecutions of the 14th century a good number of the persecuted jews wandered into the hospitable Poland of Casimir the Great. Having come from the west, westerners, 'Welsche, there they called themselves Wloch in slavic, which after their return to Germany in the course of the 17th century was changed to Bloch and appears since then. The main distribution of the names Bloch & Bolach, related to the later Pollack, is southern Baden.

The name Bloch tells of the wandering of german jews in the 17th century. Similar place-origin names in Kirchen, such as Schwab, Schwob, Bollag, Pollack, Wahl & Frank are similarly based on a region. Is the name Nordemann (Nordmann) also a geographic place-origin name? The name itself porbably comes from Alsace. Dreifuss doesn't list it. However all those carrying this name in Kirchen were from Alsace.

The name Bigar, Bikart, Pickart, also found in Kirchen, is a place-origin/geographical name. Probably the bearers of the name were from Picardy.

Names taken from Cities and Towns:

This category includes the names in Kirchen: Braunschweig, Bacharach, Brandeis (on the Elbe), Dornacher, Dreifuss, Geissmar (Geismar or Hofgeismar), Olesheimer, Grumbacher, Guenzburger, Harburger (Harburg), Kleefeld, Reutlinger, Rosenthal, Strassburger, Valfer (Walf), Wachenheimer, Wormser, Weil, Mannheimer, Bodenheimer, Brandenburger, Epstein, Fuerth, Bergheimer, Greilsheimer (Crailsheim), Dieneheimer, Guggenheimer, Grumbach, Wertheimer, Steinberger, Durbacher, Wyhler, Weikersheimer. For all these towns one must assume with Dreifuss that the choice of name seldom is the place of residence itself, but rather of a neighboring place. For Baden only these named by Dreifuss are known: Breisach, Buehl, Flehingen, Hilsbach, Hockenheim, Hoerden, Kirchen, etc.

Family Names Originally Hebrew First Names of Hebrew Origin.

Among these in Kirchen are: Baruch, Abraham, Levi, Meier (Meir), Heim Hajim), Moses, Samuel, Zivi (Sebi - Hirsch), comparable name for Naftali in connection with Jacob's blessing (1 Moses 49.21), Model (vaguely from Mordechai).

Family Names Based On First Names of German Origin

Among these are: Goetschel (variant of Gottschalk), Schorsch (dialect for Georg), Wolf (comparable name for Benjamin - 1. Moses 49.21), Loew (compr. for Jehuda) and Falk.

The name Nelson according to Dreifuss is of unclear origin. There are some

possible basii: Nelson = son of Cornelius (?), Nelson - after the british Admiral Nelson, hero of Trafalgar. These 'memorial' names were often taken by jews. So a number of jewish families took the name of the fighters for their emancipation, Dohm or Lesisng. Dreifuss posits another possibility of the name: (Katz) nel (lenbogen) so (h) n. The name Mendelsohn would belong to this category.

Names of Hebrew Origin:

Kahn from (Cohen). Another group is based on some fantastic conjectures; similar to place-origin names: Levistein. To these group may belong the names Reichenbach & possibly Felsenstein.

The names Blum, Rothschild, Rieser & Apfel go back to nmaes of buildings or 'houses' many of which appear in Frankfurt but do not appear in Kirchen.

Occupational Names:

Among these in Kirchen are: Schlosser, Schuster, Lieberles, Lederer & Roos. Dreifuss remarks to Lieberles: " The name might have a connection with Libery, a name already widely spread in the east in the 17th century, meaning the congregational official who handled funerals. The occupational names appear to have a french basis.

The two names Schlosser & Schuster appear in Kirchen only in connection with other names, i.e. Bloch, Levi or Moses, for example David Bloch-Dreher, Meier Levi-Schlosser & Samuel Moses-Schuster. Dreifuss assumes that these names had no connection with a trade.

The name Roos may refer to jewish horse trading. (tr-???)

Names of Latin Derivation

The name Veit (Veist) is of latin origin and is based on 'vitalis'. Lazar may be an abbreviation of Lazarus, the latinised Elasar.

Name based on the situation of a house are often also place-origin names:

Per Dreifuss: Ellenbogen is not to be construed as a town but is based on the name of an alley (gasse) in the old Frankfurt ghetto.

The nmae Hammel appears in Kirchen as well as in the former OberamtBischofsheim (Lichtenau, Neufreistett) might according to Dreifuss: Hardly be a name for a dealer in Hammel (wethers-tr) but rather derived from a place-origin name (Hammelburg, a.o.) or perhaps as a short form for Abraham.

Combined Names:

A number of combined names are found in Kirchen: Hey-mann, Selig - mann. The name Kaufmann, according to Salfeld is derived from Jacob. Another variant, according to Theodor & Wolfsohn, based this name on the hebrew 'meschulam' and might be a translation of 'paid' (bezahlt-tr).

According to Dreifuss Ullmann is related to Ulrich as Heinemann is related to Heinrich. But the name of the city of Ulm may have also been a basis for taking that name.

Pecularity & Odd Names:

These appear in Kirchen as Mock in connection with Bloch. According to Goetze: Mock...is a small heavy person.

The name Keller (cellar-tr) does not fit into any of the categories here listed. Dreifuss feels the name, appearing mainly in the Tauberkreis, is connected or derived from 'Kellerei' (wine producer-tr). Grimm speaks of this too.

Names and Dates of the Jews Living in Kirchen 1736 - 1940

Notes: The names are in alphabetic order and numbered according to the Kirchen Ortssippenbuch (family book-tr) of Efringen-Kirchen.

In the listing of individuals the marriage date is determining. When such does not appear the ages of children are given. The place of marriages is only rarely available and therefor generally not mentioned.

When after the dates (birth or death) no entry appears that denotes the individual born or buried in Kirchen.

The numbers following the names or the indication son, daughter, etc. refers to the register number.

When number of children is given their names are unavailable.

Numbers in () refer to particular literature/data, for ex. 54.5(OSB Rust...).

Married women are listed under their birth names when after marriage they no longer lived in Kirchen or the man's name doesn't appear elsewhere.

The birth dates of the third generation appear directly behind the particular family member if they didn't live in Kirchen.

Register from P. 176 - 214 (not translated).

Addenda (Documents) 1 - 18

(Tr.Note: Some of these quoted documents are written in an archaic officialese german and to the reader un-familiar with these archaic expressions & grammar very difficult to understand, This is Tr. problem. Therefore it should be noted that not only are tr. approximate, they may not even be accurate. Mea culpa.)

Addenda # 1 - see note 67

Judenschutzbrief of 1747 (GLA Karlsruhe 229/52867, Blatt 4-9, July Bloch at Kirchen given the Schutz (protection-tr)). etc.....

'We Carl Friedrich of God's grace Margrave of Baden & Hochberg, landgrave to Sausenberg, count to Sponheim & Eberstein, lord of Roetian, Badenweiler, Lahr & Mahlberg etc. give public notice with the power of this letter

renew for the jew Hirz Bloch of Kirchen the returned letter of 3 March 1736, taken him into guard & protection in Kirchen in our manor Roetlen, kindly accepted. The protection for this letter is to know the following:

1) In our village of Kirchen he and his family may keep their dwelling, water and pasture shared with our subjects (but the latter only on those ways and streets of same village) that the cattle he keeps shall have healthy pasture after arrangement with the local community.

2) Insofar as he has no properties, houses & dwelling houses we exempt him from all personal taxes & bother, but he shall be bound to pay to extra-ordinary war & contribution levies made on the entire realm, after we in case of need issue such proclamation & set the proper proportion.

3) We allow him altogether in the Roman Empire allowed trade & dealings like our subjects, against further laws or decrees and pay such taxes as our subjects must pay, may loan, buy and sell but that no other tradesman or artisan shall be damaged, or to do work properly done by artisans.

4) And however he, jew Hirz Bloch, is loyal and true to our princely house and obeys all proper laws of our country as well as new decrees or laws without exemption, so he also may not engage in correspond with other jewries or other groups that might be injurious to us, by threat of heavy monetary fines, or on the finding of the situation bodily & capital punishment.

5) He shall not buy or loan on bloody clothes or wet skins (excepted the normal purchase from butchers and others) and what may also be suspicious or stolen goods, and if such goods are offered him he shall at once notify the head of the village or the Oberamt. At the same time he shall:

6) all purchased old silver pieces and thread he may not sell out of the country but shall offer it to us to buy and inquire if we don't want to buy it cheaply directly.

7) So he wants to loan anything to our subjects, their families, my servants, he shall avoid usury and only charge the allowed interest as now or in future laws, under threat of confiscation of the loaned capital, and no more, and shall not make any usurious contracts.

8) Portable goods or pawned items the interest on which is not duly paid after a year, upon advice to the Oberamt, and upon adjudication may either sent home or he may be allowed to sell such goods, but to pay the excess received to the debtor immediately.

9) We want that he honestly buys and sells and contracts, refusing all deceit in view of the heavy punishment.

10) Our officials shall be helpful to Hirz Bloch in the collection of debts due him as to all our subjects, but he shall not sue our subjects and those of

neighboring principalities outside our country, but shall apply to the courts of our land in our principality and lands, and not appeal further.

If the Jew has legal demands outside our country he is to advise our officials who are to handle the matter upon written proof, and if not fruitful to avail himself of the justice like our subjects for prompt official administration.

11) If with our will and consent wishes to buy houses and real estate he shall assume the burdens thereon as our subjects and pay them promptly & uncomplaining.

12) We make no demand on Hirz Bloch for bondage but

13) If he decides to not remain in our country any longer (upon three months notice to the Oberamt which has to collect the Schutzgeld) he may move freely so long as he has satisfied any claims made against him by our servants, also that he may settle outside our land and if useful to him to apply for other Schutz for which we demand nothing from the removed assets, unless such real properties as he had bought with our consent were not fully paid.

14) When he marries off sons we permit him to keep them in his house for a year without increasing the Schutzgeld, but after a year when such married sons want to settle & live in our country and have asked for & received permission from us, which granting of permission we reserve ourselves, that they pay equal Schutzgeld as the other Jews in the country.

15) He and his may participate in all customary Jewish ceremonies but may not blaspheme the Christian religion on pain of heavy punishment.

16) When we ask the Jew to assist our princely court now and then in our affairs he shall not refuse.

17) So we herewith allow the Jew to have as much meat as he needs for his household, in accordance with already given or future decrees, may slaughter beeves & calves and sheep according to Jewish ceremony, and may sell what he doesn't use not only per pound but per quarter, but not so as to endanger butchers but only what he needs for himself. He shall also

18) Not keep any cattle in unclean or similar conditions, or buy it if it was so kept and to bring it into the country, or only lead thru, for slaughter and cutting up. If he does otherwise he'll be severely punished.

19) For our protection Jew Hirz Bloch will deliver to us as before, annually & freely, pay to us: 30 Gulden Reichsthaler, and do so quarterly, at the rate of 7 fl. 30kr. in advance.

But when he doesn't pay the Schutzgeld or he and his do not conduct themselves accordingly this protection is extinguished.

We reserve, in case we no longer hold him in respect, to cancel such protection on a quarter's notice, and after the three months he and his must then move from our land after paying all debts and so certified by our Oberamt that he conducted

himself well.

To this document with all written afore we have signed this in our own hand and our princely secretarial seal printed thereon. Given at our princely residence City of Carlsruhe, 6 June 1747.

Addenda # 3 (to note # 151)

We. Carl Friedrich by God's Grace, Archduke of Baden, Duke to Zaehringen, etc. have by Our Constitutional Edict given the jews of our state equality with christians as citizens of our state.

The equality in rights can only then apply fully when they are equal in political and moral culture and make efforts thereto. in order to ascertain this striving so that this full equality not be to the disadvantage of the rest of the citizens of the state, we therefor order the following:

I. Religious Constitution

The jewry of the Arch Duchy forms a constitutionally accepted part of our lands that like the others is under the appropriate church-reglement as further ordered.

II. Division in religious congregations

Each area that has a synagogue for a number of it's religionists in a portion of the state territory has church rights.

The law we reserve after discussions & proposals. Until these are properly established the jews belong to that synagogue in the land to which they have held heretofor, and if they don't belong to a particular one they are to be counted to the nearest one in the land.

III. God's Acre

Each synagogue can retain it's cemeteries so long as they were not closed for official reasons and a closing and move is needed. Whenever there is none new ones may be obtained with official permission in appropriate places, and the surrounding wall, depth of graves, time of funerals, etc. must be in accordance to local rules, for which the same respect and protection against insult will be provided like other religious burial places in our land.

X. Attendance in Public Schools

Up to now men of adequate education from their midst have provided teaching, and can be allowed to establish public Schools but for reading, writing, morality and composition, also for geography and history where these are taught, to attend the local public schools with the christian children and like them pay tuition similarly to them, and shall have the advantages and the premium. Local officials and schoolteachers are responsible that jewish children are to appear

in the same state of cleanliness & decency as christian children are used to, so that they may not experience poor or even insulting behavior from the teachers.

XI. Choice of Different Local Schools

Where two public schools are separated by sex the attendance of jewish children shall be accordingly, but where they are separated by local conditions jewish parents shall have free choice to which school they can or wish to send their children; once enrolled they cannot leave capriciously and attend the other, but reasons therefor must be given and examined by the school authorities and found adequate. For no reason can they be excluded except as applies also to christian children and who are under the same school disciplin.

XII. Private Teachers

Private teachers may be employed under the same conditions as applies to christian children, and they must be approved and found adequate by the authorities.

XIII. Like schoolchildren in all schools religious instruction must be provided for jewish children by their congregation, time will be allowed properly.

XIV. Rules for Instruction in General

The content of instruction for children as in their worship for the adults must reflect morality, brotherly love in general & particular, loyalty to the state and civil orderliness according to the laws of Moses and the prophets, also explain to them their religious duties and ceremonies, for war and peace, in the same manner when the nation still formed a state of it's own.

XV. Religious Congregation

Their religious meetings must be public in the synagogues available therefor at the designated times or if an extra-ordinary meeting must be held after previous notice to the local authorities so that peace, quiet & order may be, because the local authorities have to protect them energetically like all churchly meetings. In their synagogues they are to pray for the regent and his family as well as prayers that may otherwise be asked in the proper manner of their religion.

XVI. Those who for their future profession need a higher education shall be required to attend a middle & higher schools under the same laws & obligations. Those desiring to be religious teachers will also be provided for. The proper authorities/ministry will present a full plan within 3 months.

XVII. Choice of Occupation

Those who do not desire higher education must like christian children after completion of schooling be trained for a particular life and occupation in government, agriculture or trades, and if masters or guilds attempt to hinder such training the police authority is responsible in execution of Sazes 23 Litt.o.

and Saz 24.Litt.K in VI constitutional edict to avoid any situations against the normal order.

(Tr.note: The word 'police' is often mentioned in relation to all sort of matters, wether education, sanitation trade, etc. It appears to be a usage of the period as much as a feature of the absolutist state and a peculiarity of the german language. Normally we would use the term 'department' or even 'board' in such connections.)

XVIII. Requirements re Civil Rights Locally & re the State.

Nobody under 21 has the right of citizenship or settlement in the country unless he has a means of support similar to that of christians too. Of 'trade' is menat being a 'Kaufmann' (merchant, businessman-tr) is menat carrying on a buisness with proper book-keeping, or open stores with an adequate supply for properly earning a living of goods in metal, leathern yardgoods, groceries, banking, etc. in a manner as christian conduct these businesses. The free trade, not requiring apprenticeship or particular qualification, in agricultural products, cattle, wines, grains, etc. must keep proper day-books with receipts & expenses listed. The so-called 'Not-Handel', which when jews were not allowed proper means of earning a livelihood, and that produced only a meager living, is no longer allowed.

XIX. Not Handel

This Not-Handel (wether carraid on by christians or jews is suspicious of usury and therefor alegal concern) we include brokerage, where someone has to act between the buyer & seller that is not in a commercial city established: Cattle brokerage, which like the poor cattle trading similar to somebody with or without a junk shop who peddles his wares, whereby the visiting the proper markets is not to be so considered, but only the walking about the houses to engender a willingness to buy, the second-hand trade, loaning money in small scale or on pawned goods, or notes with or without additional proofs, is considered in Not Handel.

XX. Laws for Nothandel

Nobody can settle carrying on Not Handel, even as Schutzbuerger, unless he has already passed the prescribed age, but it reamins only a side trade, except where because of local or personal situation one cannot earn a living from a properly learned trade, and as principal occupation who provable are outside the ability to learn a proper trade or unable to carry on the learned trade, but under the restriction that they must have official permit for this.

XXI. Requirements for such Document

Those jews who were in 'Schutz' and continue to support themselves with such Nothandel retain as 'Schutzbuerger' (Schutz citizens-tr) the right to continue to do so even if thru good efforts and to our pleasure & grace they are not

able to learn a new trade or business, but must declare before the proper authority what they do and if the Schutzbried has expired they shall merely pay the stamp fee of 6 kr. for the document.

XXII. Age Limit for Nothandel

Who is not in Schutz but can't learn a proper trade, may let his first or second son continue but only aged 25 if he has a trade, and over 30 if he wants to live off Nothandel and complies with all laws and has a good reputation and has not practiced usury. (Tr-These tr. are very inexact).

XXIII. Marriage Permission

Anyone can marry if he has become a citizen or is born one, of marriagable age and has followed all legal marriage requirements, as soon as his bride-to-be, if she's from out of town or in town but not a citizen of the class in which the groom is born, has been accepted into that class; in view of the possible forbidden grade the civil marriage, the separation & divorce laws as well as the form and festivity of the marriage contract, and otherwise have met all civil requirements of the country.

XXIV. Acceptance of Inherited Family Name

The head of each jewish household shall choose a name that will be inherited by his children of his choice but nor if it injure rights of others. He must retain all his names carried up to now as first name(s) and may not discard one. Those that already have inherited family names may keep them or choose a new one. All, by the time this law is in full force, have to register all their names carried hereto as well as that of their wife and children who are part of this naming with presentation to their birth certificates or other similar document and receive a proper documentation of their civil names and their citizenship status. The same applies to all jews settling in the country with permission immediately when notifying the local burgomaster or that it had already happened before their marriage.

XXV. Contracts and Last Wills

In all contracts & Lat Wills they are under the same obligations as the christian subjects and may not conclude usurious contracts, and to so excite their will to respect the state.

XXVI. Witness

There is no difference between testimony of christian or jewish witnesses, but the testimony of such people, christian or jew, who support themselves by begging shall not be equal except as the individuals character is known to be good and his testimony likely to be proper.

XXVII. Oaths

For both main or side oaths the equality applies except as to the formula and if necessary an oath must be taken in public in the synagogue before an open Thora.

XXVIII Taxes

After the several provincial administrations have set the proper taxes they shall be paid equally and all others abrogated except as per special law.

XXIX. Courts

They can no longer have a court system of their own and must use the civil courts, and only in religious matters may matters be handled as before.

XLIII. When This Law is Effective

This law is effective 1 July of this year unless exceptions are so noted in all its provisions and dignity.

Hereafter everyman must obey this.

Given Carlsruhe 13 January 1809

LS:Carl Friedrich

s. Freiherr von Hacke

On his royal Majesty's particular order.

von Buecheler

Addenda 3 8 - The synagogue Rules: (1892) *FCP*

1. The head of the congregation sets the time for worship and so advises the congregation in customary manner.
2. Gatherings in front of the synagogue and the street leading to it are forbidden before, during and after services.
3. The entry and leaving of the synagogue must be with dignity as must be the deportment during services.
4. On sabbath & holidays the service may be led by others than the cantor only those approved as to ability by the Synagogenrat.
5. Loud prayer & singing with the cantor is improper.
6. Loud conversation during services is strictly forbidden.
7. Leaving the synagogue during services should be avoided.
8. No one may leave his place before the last Kaddish is said.
9. All present must stand during the prayer for H.M. the Kaiser and H.R.H. the Grand Duke.
10. Children under five may not be brought into the synagogue. Parents are responsible for their children's conduct.
11. On Rosh Ha Shana & Yom Kippur only married men may be called to the Thora.
12. Elderly sick may say neither nor Kaddish.
13. Youths under 18 may not be called to the Thora on sabbaths & festivals

during morning prayers except for special occasions, Jahrzeit, etc.

14. Those whose turn has come to be called for Thora Reading may not give their right to another.

15. After beginning of services the entry of several persons at once must be avoided since it must be considered disturbing.

16. Without special permission of the Synagogenrat a seat in the synagogue may be occupied by only one person.

Addenda # 9 (245)

The most important paragraphs of the law of the civil equality of the Israelites in Baden of 15 Oct. 1862 :

Law for the civil equality of the Israelites:

par.2 The present israelitic Schutzbuerger from the day mentioned in par.1 have the full right of citizenship and carry all the duties & obligations of same except for the temporary rules in par.1 sect.2. From the same date their children are to be considered as to have been born to citizenship.

Par.5 After the time per par.4, unless other laws are passed, those not yet admitted to citizenship can do so by paying to the community the cash money for their entry to these obligations. However entry to the actual useage of this right is for them as well as their sons over 15, is restricted to the same limitations of the christian Schutzbuerger to full citizenship.

Par.6 Until 1 January 1872 the israelitic care for the poor remains apart from the christian under current laws, unless the jewish congregation and the civil community have made other arrangements. From the given date the support of jewish poor.... devolves to the political community.

Par.7 Those funds specifically dedicated for the support of christian poor shall not be available to the isr.poor in future; at the same time the christian poor have no rights to existing funds for the jewish poor.

Par. 9 This law is effective 15 October 1862. The ministry of Interior is charged with its execution.



**End of [The Jewish Congregation of
Kirchen] :**
